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**The Vietnamese Phuc Quoc League
and the 1940 Insurrection**

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Introduction

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Introduction

This paper focuses on the Viet Nam Phuc Quoc Quan (National Restoration Army of Vietnam)¹, which staged an armed insurrection in Dong Dang and Lang Son in September 1940, when the Japanese Army was stationing forces in northern French Indochina, and on its parent organization, the Viet Nam Phuc Quoc Dong Minh Hoi (League for the National Restoration of Vietnam). Throughout the paper, the emphasis will be placed on their relationship with Japan.

There have been very few serious and in-depth academic studies on the insurrection itself and the activities of the Phuc Quoc League.² There are several good reasons for this. First, in outlining the political history of Vietnam in the 1930s and 1940s, it has been conventional to focus on the activities of the Dong Duong Cong San Dang (Indochinese Communist Party), while treating the activities of the Phuc Quoc League as marginal,

¹ Although Cuong De's memoirs (see note 5) call it the "Viet Nam Kien Quoc Quan" (Nation-Building Army of Vietnam), this paper follows the more commonly used nomenclature among researchers: the "Viet Nam Phuc Quoc Quan" (National Restoration Army of Vietnam).

² This is not to say that they have been totally neglected by researchers.

and moreover to condemn the League as a puppet of Japan.³ There is no denying that the Communist Party and various organizations affiliated with it played the pivotal role in carrying out the 1945 August Revolution, and have continued to occupy the central place in the country's political life. It is also true that, objectively speaking, the Phuc Quoc League and the people involved in it had very close and special relations with the Japanese. Even if this is correct, however, it seems necessary to record and sort out what actually happened. Given, moreover, the fact that the Phuc Quoc Army's insurrection may have produced some effects, both positive and negative, on the political situation in Vietnam at the time, it does not appear to be totally meaningless to analyze it. It concerns the history of Vietnam's internal politics and national liberation movements.

A second reason for the lack of full-fledged research on the Phuc Quoc League and Army is because the insurrection itself, having been smashed so quickly and easily, tended to be regarded as merely one episode in the process of the Japanese Army's southward advance. Nevertheless, the incident is worthy of attention as it set the pattern, or presented a prototype model, for Japanese reactions toward political activities undertaken by the Vietnamese until the end of the Pacific War, and Japan's plan for governing Indochina.⁴ It can also be seen as a concrete example of what Japan's

³ As early as in November 1940, at its Seventh Meeting, the Indochinese Communist Party's Central Committee criticized the Phuc Quoc League for being a Japanese puppet. Tran Huy Lieu (1960) p. 48 and note 1. Not surprisingly, present-day Vietnamese historians are of the same view. See, for example, Tran Huy Lieu (1960) pp. 21-22; Tran Van Giau (1963) pp. 52-53; and Hong Chuong (1962). This view is also shared by researchers in the West, including the United States. See, for example, Duiker (1976) pp. 256-57, and 262.

⁴ For an overview of Japanese policy toward French Indochina in 1940-45, see Shiraishi and Furuta (1977). Since the original version of this paper was published in Japanese in 1982, a

southward advance was really about. These issues pertain to Japan's relations with Vietnam and the Southern Area in general.

A third reason for the lack of attention given to the activities of the Phuc Quoc League and its affiliate groups is the fact that insufficient efforts have been made to discover and use pertinent documents. Even the memoirs of former members of the League have not been put to use effectively.⁵ What is more, primarily because of the language barrier, many researchers (mostly Vietnamese and Western) remain unaware of pertinent documents in Japanese. Fortunately, the author is in a position to conduct interviews with Japanese people who were involved in or knowledgeable about the activities of the Phuc Quoc League and its Army, and also to make use of the Japanese literature on the state of affairs that surrounded the Phuc Quoc's activities as well as the Japanese army's movements around

number of books and articles concerning the topic have been published by the author himself and other researchers. Among them are Shiraishi (1982); Shiraishi (1984); Shiraishi (1985); Shiraishi (1986); Yoshizawa (1986); and Tachikawa (2000).

⁵ The following two memoirs are especially important, and will be referred to by their acronyms for convenience's sake:

CD -- Cuong De (1957). According to a preface written by Tung Lam (or Matsubayashi in Japanese), Matsubayashi, a newspaper reporter, interviewed Cuong De for several hours each day from December 12 to 18, 1943, and the transcribed manuscript was looked over by Cuong De before it was sent to the press. In other words, the book, which takes the form of an autobiography, was based on a transcript of interviews (*phong van ky*). According to another preface signed by Cuong De's eldest son Trang Liet, when he and his younger brother came to Japan after the Pacific War to receive the remains of their father (who passed away in Tôkyô in 1951), they also brought back to Vietnam their father's belongings, including a transcript of the interviews, which had already been translated into Vietnamese by the Phuc Quoc League's Publicity Team (based in Tôkyô). Trang Liet published it in Sai Gon in 1957.

As a matter of fact, Cuong De refers to himself in the text by the first person pronoun "I" (*bi nhan*). The book contains a number of facts known only to Cuong De himself, and its descriptions are deemed reliable because they are in accord with the accounts offered in the memoirs of Phan Boi Chau (1957) and Tran Trong Khac (1971), as well as the accounts offered in the memoir of Hoang Nam Huug (1959) mentioned below. Given these facts, the book can justifiably be regarded as a memoir dictated by Cuong De himself.

HNH – Hoang Nam Huug, (1959). The author wrote this memoir after having read those of Cuong De (1957) and Phan Boi Chau (1957).

the time of their advance into northern French Indochina.⁶ Consulting these Japanese documents side by side with Vietnamese documents can enable us to overcome, to a considerable extent, the shortage of pertinent documents that has long hindered the progress of research in this field.

To sum up the foregoing observations, this paper has a four-fold purpose.

First, it is an attempt to reconstruct the development of the activities of the Phuc Quoc League and its Army by comparatively examining Vietnamese, Japanese and other documents.

Second, it probes into the true state of Japan's involvement in Vietnamese nationalist movements during the period when Japanese troops advanced into northern French Indochina.

Third, it tries to assess the effects or repercussions of the Phuc Quoc's activities on the political situation in Vietnam at the time.

And fourth, it also presents the author's own views on the following two conflicting hypotheses that have been presented on the relationship between the Phuc Quoc people and the Japanese military authorities. One

⁶ Major sources of reference in the form of pulished books are Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed. (1973); Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed. (1975); Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai ed. (1963); Kajima Heiwa Kenkyûjo ed. (1973); Nihon Kindai Shiryô Kenkyûkai ed. (1971); Satô (1966); and Maruyama (1950).

Unpublished documents in the following archival files are also quite important:

MHO file-- "Futsuin Mondai Keii Tsuzuri" (File on the Developments of the French Indochinese Question) housed in the Bôeichô Senshishitsu (Japan Defense Agency Military History Office);

DRO file-- "Futsukoku Naisei Kankei Zassan, Zokuryô Kankei, Indoshina Kankei, Annan Ôzoku Honpô Bômei Kankei" (A Collection of Miscellaneous Articles Concerning French Internal Politics/ Overseas Possessions/ Indochina/ Members of the Annamese Royal Family in Exile in Japan) housed in the Gaimushô Gaikô Shiryôkan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Diplomatic Record Office).

hypothesis, supported by Vietnamese researchers including Tran Huy Lieu,⁷ and John T. McAlister, Jr.,⁸ maintains that the Phuc Quoc Army staged the insurrection under the patronage of the Japanese military authorities. Other researchers such as Milton Sacks⁹ and Phillipe Devillers¹⁰ also strongly suggest that the Phuc Quoc Army must have been organized with the backing of the Japanese army. By contrast, Truong Buu Lam of the University of Hawaii rejects this view, reasoning instead that the Phuc Quoc Army must have staged the insurrection on its own initiative, and independently from the activities of the Japanese forces.¹¹ The author sides with the former view, for reasons expressed in the concluding section of this paper, where Lam's hypothesis is critically examined.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section I describes the circumstances that led to the establishment of the Phuc Quoc League. Section II deals with the establishment of a Vietnamese broadcasting team by the Government-General of Taiwan, and the Phuc Quoc League's involvement in the team. Section III describes the Phuc Quoc Army's insurrection. The concluding section attempts to characterize the relationship between the Japanese military and the Phuc Quoc League, and the Japanese army's maneuvers toward the Vietnamese nationalist movement, while also probing into the relationship between the Phuc Quoc Army's insurrection and the political situation in Vietnam.

7 The Japanese translation (1970) pp.273-274 of Tran Huy Lieu et al. (1957).

8 McAlister (1969) p. 119.

9 Sacks (1949) pp. 50-51.

10 Devillers (1952) p. 78.

11 Truong Buu Lam (1973) pp. 244-45.

I. The Vietnamese Phuc Quoc League

(1) Cuong De's Activities in Exile By 1937

The Vietnamese Phuc Quoc League, or League for the National Restoration of Vietnam, was established in 1939 in Shanghai under the leadership of Cuong De.

Born in Hue in 1882 into the royal family, Cuong De became the head of the Viet Nam Duy Tan Hoi (Society for the Renovation of Vietnam) at the recommendation of Phan Boi Chau, a well-known leader of the nationalist movement. In 1906 he traveled to Japan and joined the Dong Du Movement (Movement for Studying Abroad in Japan)¹² which had been organized by Phan Boi Chau. Following the movement's collapse, Cuong De left Japan in 1909. However, he returned there in 1915 after roaming to many places including China, Siam and Europe.¹³

After he came back to Japan in 1915, according to his own recollections, Cuong De took up his residence in Tōkyō's Ōmori Ward, and frequently visited Inukai Tsuyoshi and his right-hand man, Kashiwabara Buntarō, both of whom had supported Vietnamese in Japan since the days of the Dong Du Movement.

¹² For an overview of the Dong Du (Studying Abroad in Japan) Movement, see Marr, (1971) ch. 6. Since the original Japanese version of this paper was printed, the author has also published Shiraishi (1993) which is a comprehensive study on Phan Boi Chau and his movement during the Dong Du period.

¹³ *CD*, p. 94ff

It is reported, in particular, that in the period from 1915 to his assassination in May 1932, Inukai provided Cuong De with a monthly stipend, whose amount was 100 yen at the beginning but was raised to 150 yen in the latter half of the period. The stipend was used to cover the living expenses of Cuong De and other Vietnamese residents. Cuong De makes mention of seven Vietnamese who were residing in Japan in 1915, including Tran Huu Cong and Tran Van An. They were attending schools in Japan, and pretending to be Chinese.¹⁴ Cuong De used the Chinese name of Lin De Shun (pronounced Rin Toku Jun in Japanese) and the Japanese name of Minami Kazuo.¹⁵

After Inukai's assassination, the financial aid seems to have come mainly from Matsui Iwane and his group. A pan-Asianist and a doyen of the army, Matsui was so deeply interested in Vietnam that he visited French Indochina himself in July 1943, declaring to the local press that "regardless of the wishes of Britain and the United States, Japan is determined to liberate Asian nations."¹⁶ Matsui organized a group named "Kissaragi-Kai" (February Society), which was joined by military officers under his influence and members of the Kokuryû-Kai (Black Dragon Society), to give spiritual and financial support to Cuong De and his group.¹⁷ Kissaragi-Kai seems to

¹⁴ CD, pp. 95 and 126-127. The financial support from Inukai and Kashiwabara is corroborated by reports of the Japanese and French authorities contained in the *DRO file*.

¹⁵ CD, p. 94 and various documents contained in the above-mentioned *DRO file*. According to some documents in the *DRO file*, communications from the French Embassy in Tôkyô in 1919 and 1925 cited that Cuong De was using the Japanese name "Takamatsu."

¹⁶ Devillers (1952) pp. 88-89.

¹⁷ Interviews with Mr. Hayashi Hidezumi; and Individual A (Japanese who wishes to remain anonymous).

have begun providing aid to Cuong De's group by the end of the 1930s.¹⁸ During the Pacific War, Matsui is also reported to have offered a house in Sakura Jôsuï, Tôkyô, that could accommodate about 10 people, for use by Vietnamese students and politicians in exile.¹⁹

In addition to Matsui, people like Tôyama Mitsuru, Ôkawa Shûmei, and Inukai Takeru also seem to have supported Cuong De's group in some way or other.²⁰

Upon his return to Japan in 1915, Cuong De judged that in the wake of the end of the First World War he could not expect to muster support for

¹⁸ According to an interview with Mr. Tsuchiya Yonekichi, when he met Cuong De for the first time in Tôkyô in April 1939 or thereabouts, Cuong De and his group were under the protection of people affiliated with Matsui Iwane's "Asian League" (Ajia Renmei).

¹⁹ Interview with Individual B (Vietnamese who wishes to remain anonymous).

²⁰ On personal contacts between Tôyama Mitsuru and Cuong De, *HNH*, pp. 170-171 points out that when Hoang Nam Hung visited Japan in 1932, he was introduced to Tôyama by Cuong De. See also the letter dated June 28, 1926 from the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Vice-Minister of Home Affairs, and the letter dated April 10, 1929 from the Chief of the Tôkyô Metropolitan Police Department to the Minister of Home Affairs, both included in the *DRO file*.

Information on personal contacts between Ôkawa Shûmei and Cuong De is based on the author's interview with Individual B.

Also, Komatsu (1955) p. 212 points out that the two "prominent rightists", Tôyama Mitsuru and Ôkawa Shûmei, are "reportedly among the influential supporters of Cuong De," along with "General Matsui Iwane, believer of Greater East Asianism." The above-mentioned book's author, Komatsu Kiyoshi, himself stayed in Indochina during the 1940s, having close relations with a number of Vietnamese intellectuals and political figures there who had some contacts with Cuong De's group in Tôkyô.

For the relationship between Tran Van An (or Tran Phuc An), a very close associate of Cuong De, and the organ of Gyôchisha, one of the political organizations established by Ôkawa, and between Tran Van An and Nishida Mitsugi, see Matsumoto (1975), p. 96ff.

Information on personal contact between Inukai Takeru and Cuong De is based on the author's interview with Mr. Tsuchiya Yonekichi. It should be added that Inukai Takeru visited French Indochina in April 1934 in connection with the Kagesa Agency's intrigues toward Wang Zhaoming, and during his stay there he obtained cooperation from several people who would later have intimate relationships with Cuong De, such as Kadomatsu Shôichi, a member of Section Eight (Covert Operations) of the General Staff Office, who was staying in French Indochina in 1938 and 1939 (based on the author's interview with Mr. Kadomatsu himself), and Yamane Dôichi and Ômiya Komaki, both employees of Taiwan Takushoku (Colonization) Corporation. See Maruyama (1950). p. 95.

Aside from the people mentioned above, Matsushita Mitsuhiro, president of Dainan Kôshi (Corporation), also had been in contact with Cuong De since before the beginning of the Pacific War, apparently playing a role primarily in intermediating between Cuong De and various groups within Vietnam (based on the author's interviews with Mr. Matsushita himself).

his revolutionary activities from within Japan, and he moved temporarily to China in 1918. While there, he and Phan Boi Chau jointly conceived of establishing an operational base in Hangzhou, and tried to talk Duan Qirui of the Beijing government into financially supporting their plan. When this effort to raise funds failed, Cuong De returned to Japan during the same year.²¹ For some time thereafter, he remained in Japan, but toward the end of March 1922, he dispatched Tan Anh, who had come to Japan to ask him for help, to Sai Gon on a mission to stir up Vietnamese youths within the country to smuggle themselves out of the country and into China.

In August of the same year, Cuong De himself visited Guangzhou. Although his plan to summon youths from Vietnam to China failed, he remained in Guangzhou for more than a year until toward the end of September 1923, when he visited Hangzhou, meeting Phan Boi Chau again. Subsequently, he tried in vain to draw financial support from the warlords of Luoyang, and then returned to Japan.²²

It becomes clear from the foregoing facts that Cuong De, while primarily settling in Japan, repeatedly visited China, trying to draw funds

²¹ CD, pp. 98-100. Phan Boi Chau in his memoirs (1957) makes no mention of the fact that he stayed in Beijing and tried to raise funds together with Cuong De. However, the book does mention that he stayed in Japan for three months in 1917 (ibid., pp. 173-180), and this visit may have had something to do with Cuong De's trip to China the following year. To add in passing, Phan Boi Chau visited Japan again in around 1920-21 (ibid., p. 191).

²² CD, pp. 108-116. The letter dated June 30, 1925 from the Chief of the Ministry of Home Affairs' Police Bureau to the Chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Treaties Bureau, which is contained in the *DRO file*, points out that Lin De Shun (Rin Toku Jun in Japanese pronunciation), the pseudonym of Cuong De, entered Japan in 1915, studied for a time at Waseda University with financial support of the late General Fukushima, and headed for Shanghai in October 1922. This document thus confirms his 1922 trip to China. Similarly, other documents in the same archival records point out that on January 31, 1924 he entered the Second Dormitory for Chinese Students (Dai-ni Chûka Gakusha) on the pretext that he was from Guangdong Province studying at the Medical School of the Imperial University (Teikoku-Daigaku Igakubu), which means that he had returned to Japan from China before the end of January 1924.

from warlords there, and to establish an operational base in China for a Vietnamese nationalist movement. In other words, he maintained his residence in Japan primarily because his minimum living was guaranteed, and not necessarily because he was hoping to establish a base for his movement there. Rather, he apparently viewed China as a more promising operational base for Vietnamese activists. However, this situation began to change when the Japan-China War entered into fuller swing following the Lukow-kiao Incident of July 7, 1937.

(2) Cuong De's Efforts to Rally the Comrades from 1937 to 1939

According to Cuong De's recollections, he anticipated that with the escalation of the Japan-China War as a turning point, "the situation in East Asia would definitely undergo profound changes, giving all the suppressed peoples of East Asia the opportunity for winning independence." He thought that he had first to put his organization in order, and to be ready to seize the opportunity when it came. More specifically, in early November 1937 he visited Hong Kong with the intent of rallying Vietnamese comrades in south China.²³

Here, again, China remained uppermost in his mind as a prospective base for revolutionary activities, but he now made a decisive change in his approach. Whereas previously he thought of rallying together Vietnamese political activists in exile by drawing financial support from Chinese warlords, he now began to count on the Japanese army for financial

²³ CD, pp. 128-129.

backing, about which more will be said later.

Putting aside this issue, upon his arrival in Hong Kong, Cuong De wrote letters to people such as Vu Hai Thu, Dang Su Mac, Tran Trung Lap, and Hoang Nam Hung who were in Guangzhou. However, due to the confusion caused by the ongoing escalation of the Japan-China War, his letters remained unanswered. While in Hong Kong waiting for the responses from Guangzhou, Cuong De faced the danger of being suspected as a spy for the Japanese authorities, so he returned to Japan in late November.

Not long after his return, he received a letter from Vu Hai Thu, telling him that it was not until December 3 that he had received Cuong De's letter, and that he had hurried to Hong Kong, but had arrived too late.²⁴

On the other hand, Hoang Nam Hung, another of the recipients, recounts as follows in his recollections: Nguyen Van Trung visited Guangzhou from Hong Kong in late November, carrying a letter from Cuong De with him; in the letter Cuong De said that he would personally visit Hong Kong in late November, convene revolutionary comrades, and present his own action plan to "let them adapt themselves to the situation of the Southeast Asian War (sic) now being waged by the Japanese". At a meeting of the group of Vietnamese in Guangzhou, it was decided that Hoang Nam Hung would go to Hong Kong alone, but when he called on Cuong De at the Xin Xin hotel (Tan Tan in Vietnamese pronunciation) in Kowloon,,²⁵ he

²⁴ *CD*, pp. 129-130.

²⁵ The hotel of the same name is mentioned in both *CD*, p. 129, and *HNH*, p. 185.

had already left for Japan. Cuong De had left a letter stating that he would return to Tokyo because the British authorities were beginning to be suspicious of him, and left instructions that members of the Guangzhou group should wait in Hong Kong since he would write to them soon. A check for 2,000 pounds from the Bank of Hong Kong was enclosed in the envelop.²⁶

The foregoing account of Hoang Nam Hung is in agreement with that of Cuong De referred to earlier. To note in passing, as far as we can infer from Hoang Nam Hung's recollections, the group of Vietnamese in Guangzhou was the only one that Cuong De could get in touch with, among the various groups of Vietnamese existing in China at the time. In this regard it is important to point out that Cuong De stayed in Guangzhou for one year beginning in 1922, and that subsequently in 1932 Hoang Nam Hung, one of the leading members of the Guangzhou group, visited Japan himself and met with Cuong De.²⁷

According to Hoang Nam Hung's account, he remained in Hong Kong as instructed by Cuong De, and wrote to him in Japan. Meanwhile, Hung called upon his comrades in Guangzhou to join him in Hong Kong. Within one month, a group of people including Tran Boi Long, Phan Trong Doan, Do Khai Hoan, Mai Van Thong, and Tran Minh Duc had gathered there. They rented a house in Kowloon to wait for further communications from Cuong De. They covered their living expenses partly with the money he had left, and partly by taking on miscellaneous jobs among themselves,

²⁶ The foregoing descriptions are based on *HNH*, pp. 185-186.

²⁷ *HNH*, pp. 168-172 writes that he left Japan in December 1932 after eight months' stay, while stating also that he arrived in Japan after the assassination of Inukai Tsyoshi. Inukai was killed on May 1, 1932.

such as teaching at schools and writing articles for newspapers.

At the same time, Hoang Nam Hung recollects, a person fresh from Japan, whose name in Vietnamese pronunciation was Hoa Chi, helped the group financially.²⁸

Hoa Chi can be identified as the Japanese name Wachi.²⁹ This was none other than Wachi Yôji, an Army Colonel at the time, who was involved for many years in intrigues in Taiwan and China. In the period from June 1938 to May 1939, he was serving as the chief of the Ran Kikan (Orchid Agency).³⁰

A Japanese civilian who was collaborating with the Ran Agency at the time remembers well that he became acquainted with a group of Vietnamese activists in Hong Kong through Wachi, and that among the group the person, whose name in Japanese pronunciation was Chin Ki-Sei, and who was very fluent in Japanese.³¹ This individual was Tran Huy Thanh, one of Cuong De's close aides as will be mentioned later.

The Ran Agency, based in Shanghai, was engaged in anti-Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) intrigues along with the warlords in southwestern China.³² Wachi is reported to have frequently moved between Shanghai and Hong Kong for this mission.³³

These pieces of evidence suggest that Wachi did in fact get in touch

²⁸ *HNH*, p. 186.

²⁹ *HNH* usually spells it Hòa-Chi, but in some occasions Hòa-Chí as well. Wachi in the Vietnamese notation is expressed as Hòa Trí, but the syllables Chi and Trí are pronounced the same way in northern Vietnam.

³⁰ *Nihon Kindai Shiryô Kenkyûkai* ed.(1971) pp. 79 and 215; and Maruyama (1950) p. 152ff.

³¹ Interview with Mr. Yamaguchi Getsuirô.

³² *Bôeichô Senshishitsu*, ed.(1973) p. 172; Maruyama (1950) p. 165ff.

³³ Interview with Mr. Yamaguchi Getsurô. Furthermore, according to the author's interview with Mr. Kadomatsu Shôichi, Wachi was staying at Matsubara Hotel in Hong Kong.

with Vietnamese activists in Hong Kong. Given, however, the fact that he was assigned to take charge of the Ran Agency in June 1938, it can be assumed that he began providing financial aid to Hung's group after that. He probably became acquainted with Hung and his group through the intermediation of either Cuong De in Japan or by his Japanese supporters. Given the fact that Wachi had long been in touch with Matsui Iwane,³⁴ it is also conceivable that Wachi knew Hung's group through this connection.

At any rate, it was definitely not the connections maintained by Section Eight (Dai-hachi-ka: Covert Operations Section) of the General Staff Office (Sanbo-Honbu) in Tôkyô or the Headquarters of the Army in Taiwan that linked him to Hung's group. Since this will emerge as an important issue later, it is worth looking into the circumstances a little more closely.

According to the testimonies of persons who were affiliated with Section Eight of the General Staff Office at the time, it was not until 1939 that it came to know of Cuong De, and moreover it had no subsequent knowledge about Wachi's contact with a group of Vietnamese.³⁵ On the other hand, there is a testimony that Cuong De was introduced to Section Eight through the Headquarters of the Army in Taiwan,³⁶ meaning that the Army in Taiwan had known of Cuong De from an earlier date. However, Wachi is reported to have been on bad terms also with the Headquarters of

³⁴ According to Maruyama (1950) pp. 67 and 165, Wachi was a regimental commander under Commander-in-Chief Matsui at the time of the Shanghai Incident in August 1937.

³⁵ Interview with Mr. Kadomatsu Shôichi and elephone interview with Mr. Ozaki Masaji, both of whom were serving for Section Eight at that time.

³⁶ Interview with Mr. Kadomatsu Shôichi.

the Army in Taiwan.³⁷

Returning to the main discourse, Hoang Nam Hung recounts that Wachi frequently met with Hung and his group, telling them the following: Cuong De was arguing for restructuring the revolutionary movement abroad and in Vietnam to revive anti-French activities; and given the prospects that the War would develop in a way that would demolish the strength of the French, the situation would unfold in favor of the Vietnamese.

In the meantime, Hung's group received a long letter from Cuong De, pointing out that "before long the Japanese will continue advancing toward the East China Sea (sic), and Vietnam will be a very important place for them." He argued that "for the purpose of reinforcing our revolutionary forces, we should temporarily join hands with Japan, and take advantage of this opportunity; at a later stage, we might as well base ourselves on historical factors well adapted to various activities for liberating our national land."³⁸

Cuong De may have written the letter, with its strong tone of persuasion, because he was aware that Hoang Nam Hung and his group had been mainly acting under the protection of the Chinese warlords in Guangdong and Guangxi, and that they felt sympathy for China as Japan and China began to clash.

There is no denying, moreover, that Wachi became interested in

³⁷ Wachi is reported to have been on bad terms with Hayashi Yoshihide who was in charge of intelligence activities in Taiwan. Interviews with Mr. Yamaguchi Getsurô and with Mr. Ujihara Susumu

³⁸ *HNH*, pp. 187-189.

Vietnamese activists in China as part of his maneuvers against Jiang Jieshi. It should be remembered, in particular, that Wachi's Ran Agency was carrying out intrigues toward military leaders in southwestern China, and that Hung and his group were closely in touch with these warlords.

Hoang Nam Hung and his group, when pressed to decide whether to abandon their pro-Chinese position in favor of a pro-Japanese one, held a careful discussion on the matter and concluded that on this occasion they should take advantage of the new change in the situation.

They called on other groups of Vietnamese elsewhere in China to temporarily join hands with them. According to Hoang Nam Hung, the groups that responded favorably to his group's appeal were as follows: the Viet Nam Phuc Quoc Hoi (Society for the National Restoration of Vietnam), the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Cach Mang Dang (Vietnamese National Revolutionary Party), and the Viet Nam Trung Uong Chap Hanh Uy Vien Hoi (Central Executive Committee of Vietnam).³⁹

The Viet Nam Phuc Quoc Hoi can be safely regarded as Cuong De's group, based in Tôkyô. As a matter of fact, according to documents of the French authorities referred to by Jayne Werner, in November 1936 Cuong De was using the name Viet Nam Doc Lap Van Dong Dong Minh Hoi (League for the Independence Movement of Vietnam) for his group, but seems to have changed it to Viet Nam Phuc Quoc Dong Minh Hoi (League for the National Restoration of Vietnam) by 1938.⁴⁰

³⁹ *HNH*, pp. 189-190.

⁴⁰ Werner (1976) p. 196. A report of the French Indochinese Security Police stating that it was in early 1938 that the Phuc Quoc (Society for the National Restoration) began to recruit members in Cochinchina (southern Vietnam) is quoted in *ibid.*, p. 197.

The Viet Nam Quoc Dan Cach Mang Dang (Vietnamese National Revolutionary Party) was originally established in Guangzhou in 1930 by Hoang Nam Hung and his group (with Cuong De as Honorary Chairman), but the same founding members disbanded the Party in 1932. Given, however, the fact that its name continued to be used by surviving members of the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (Vietnamese Nationalist Party) in Nanjing, including Nguyen The Nghiep and Vu Hong Khanh,⁴¹ the National Revolutionary Party mentioned here seems to be the group in Nanjing formerly affiliated with the Vietnamese Nationalist Party.

The Viet Nam Trung Uong Chap Hanh Uy Vien Hoi (Central Executive Committee of Vietnam), on the other hand, is presumed to refer to the central executive body of the National Revolutionary Party in Guangzhou at the time of the Party's inception in 1930 as mentioned above,⁴² and this name seems to have remained in use even after the Party's disbandment was declared in 1932. If so, it refers to Hoang Nam Hung's own group in Guangzhou.

Supposing that the foregoing inference is correct, it follows that aside from Cuong De's group in Japan, Hoang Nam Hung's group was only able to get in touch with the surviving group of the Vietnamese Nationalist Party in Nanjing. Given that this group once belonged to the same organization (i.e., the National Revolutionary Party) as Hoang Nam Hung's group, it must have been relatively easy for Hoang Nam Hung to contact them again. However, as will be noted later, no evidence is available that the Nanjing

⁴¹ *HNH*, pp. 155-161, and 174.

⁴² *HNH*, p. 145ff.

group was present at the Phuc Quoc League's inaugural meeting in Shanghai, or that it was represented in the League's Central Committee which was elected at that occasion. In other words, despite Hoang Nam Hung's recollections, it is unclear whether the Nanjing group actually took part in the Phuc Quoc League. One possible interpretation is that the Nanjing group, having sent its representative to Hoang Nam Hung's group in Hong Kong to receive further explanations about the proposal, may have decided against participating in the League's inaugural meeting in Shanghai for one reason or another.

In addition to the people mentioned above, a group in Siam also sent members, namely Truong An Man and Dang Ngoc Chau, to Hong Kong.⁴³ Apparently, Cuong De himself took steps to communicate with them.

(2) Inauguration of the Phuc Quoc League

Toward the end of February 1939, more than a year after his trip to Hong Kong at the end of 1937, Cuong De left Tôkyô for Shanghai to attend the inaugural meeting of the Phuc Quoc League together with Vietnamese gathered from other places.⁴⁴

At the meeting, it was formally decided to launch the League for the National Restoration of Vietnam (Phuc Quoc League) to rally various organizations both inside and outside Vietnam and to take advantage of the situation. The Action Program, drafted and proposed by Cuong De, was

⁴³ *HNH*, p. 190.

⁴⁴ The descriptions offered by *HNH*, p. 190 and by *CD*, p. 130 are in agreement with each other with regard to the meeting's place and timing.

adopted after revisions, and was printed by Truong Anh Man.⁴⁵ The concrete contents of the Action Program are unknown, but judging from the contents of three different pamphlets issued by the Phuc Quoc League (which the author has discovered among archival records of the former French Colonial Ministry in Paris, and all of which seem to have been used for propaganda activities inside Vietnam during the 1940s), the League obviously claimed to stand for constitutional monarchy.

The inaugural meeting selected the following central executive body:

Chairman: Cuong De

Organizing: Vu Hai Thu, also known as (a.k.a.) Nguen Hai Than

Financing: Tran Huu Cong, a.k.a. Nguyen Thuc Canh or Tran Trong Khac⁴⁶

Propaganda: Truong Anh Man

Diplomacy⁴⁷: Tran Huy Thanh, a.k.a. Tran Van An⁴⁸

Training: Ho Hoc Lam, or Ho Ngoc Lam

Internal Affairs and Research⁴⁹: Hoang Nam Hung

General Secretary: Dang Nguyen Hung

⁴⁵ *CD*, pp. 130-131; *HNH*, pp. 190-191.

⁴⁶ Only the name Tran Huu Cong is given in both *CD*, p. 131 and *HNH*, p. 191; his real name was Tran Trong Khac and he was also known as Nguyen Thuc Canh. For the identity of the three names, see his own recollections, Tran Trong Khac (1971) p. 27.

⁴⁷ *CD*, p. 131 identifies the post as “External Affairs” and executive member in charge of it as Tran Hy Thanh while *HNH*, p. 191 identifies them respectively as “Diplomacy” and Tran Huy Thanh. The latter is adopted here. The name is a pseudonym of Tran Van An. See *CD*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ *CD*, p. 131 spells the name Ho Hoc Lam, while *HNH*, *passim*. adopts the spelling Ho Ngoc Lam. On the other hand, Tran Trong Kac (1971) is inconsistent in the spelling of the name of this person, representing it as Ho Hoc Lam on various pages, but Ho Ngoc Lam on p. 89.

⁴⁹ *CD*, p.132 identifies the post as one for “Research” alone, while *HNH*, p. 191 identifies it as one for “Internal Affairs and Research.”

Vu Hai Thu, alias Nguyen Hai Than, had visited Japan for a short time in 1905 when the Dong Du (Studying-Abroad-in-Japan) movement was active. Subsequently, he came back to Vietnam, being involved in anti-French movement inside the country. After the movement broke down, he went into exile in China, becoming engaged in the activities of the Viet Nam Quang Phuc Hoi (Society for the Revival of Vietnam), of which Phan Boi Chau was the leading figure.

Although Vu Hai Thu seems to have belonged to Hoang Nam Hung's group in 1939,⁵⁰ there is no evidence showing either that he personally attended the Phuc Quoc League's inaugural meeting, or that he was subsequently involved in any of the League's activities. He seems to have parted company with the Guangzhou group following (or even before) the launching of the Phuc Quoc League, siding instead with the Chinese warlords. In 1942, he organized the Viet Nam Cach Mang Dong Minh Hoi (League for the Revolution of Vietnam) under the protection of Zhang Fakui, becoming one of the leading Vietnamese close to the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party).⁵¹

Tran Huu Cong, also known as Nguyen Thuc Canh or Tran Trong Khac, came to Japan in 1905 as one of the first members of the Dong Du movement. After studying at Shinbu Gakkô (a school founded by the Japanese Army General Staff Office for training students from China in military skills), Seijô Chûgaku (Middle School), and Tôkyô Kôtô Shihan

⁵⁰ Information on Nguyen Hai Than is based on various sources, including: *CD*; *HNH*; Tran Trong Khac (1971); and Phan Boi Chau (1957).

⁵¹ Devillers (1952) p. 103ff; and Jiang Yong Min (1971) p. 152ff.

Gakkô (Higher Normal School), he moved to China toward the end of 1917, basing himself in Hangzhou. From 1922 until 1931, he studied medicine in Germany and earned a doctorate. Subsequently, he returned to China, coordinating among his Vietnamese compatriots and the Chinese warlords in a wide array of places such as Shanghai, Nanjing, Guangzhou, Hangzhou, Fujian, and Guangxi.⁵² As of 1939, he does not seem to have belonged to any Vietnamese group; but having many acquaintances in the Chinese government and among warlords since his days at Shinbu School, being well versed in medicine as well as military skills, and having good command of a number of foreign languages, he was regarded as very useful by many people in a number of fields. Moreover, as he was well known as one of the first participants in the Dong Du movement, and as he had lived in Japan for a number of years, he must have attracted the attention of Cuong De and his group.

Again, however, there is no evidence of Tran Huu Cong having committed himself deeply to any of the activities of the Phuc Quoc League. In his own memoirs, he makes no direct mention of the League or any affiliation with it. The only mention of his movements at the time is that at the end of July 1937 he moved from Fujian Province to Guangzhou, but soon went to the Hong Kong-Kowloon area to avoid the ravages of the Japan-China War, and then moved to Macao, staying there for nearly one year before moving to the interior of China by the beginning of 1941.⁵³ It should be kept in mind, however, that this does not fully reject the

⁵² See his own memoirs, Tran Trong Khac (1971), *passim*.

⁵³ Tran Trong Khac (1971) pp. 96-97.

possibility that during his stay in Guangzhou or Hong Kong-Kowloon, he either came into contact with Hoang Nam Hung's group for a short time or showed some interest in the proposed activities of the Phuc Quoc League.

Truong Anh Man, as pointed out above, was a participant from Siam.

Tran Huy Thanh, alias Tran Van An, originally from southern Vietnam, came to Japan in 1908 at the age of 10. He was one of few Vietnamese who remained in Japan even after the Dong Du movement collapsed. After graduating from Waseda University, he moved to China, teaching Japanese in Hankou (which later became part of Wuhan) and Beijing. In 1938, according to recollections by the Vietnamese, he was appointed "head of the Tianjin City government's external affairs section".⁵⁴ As one of the close aides of Cuong De, and being fluent in Japanese, he was appointed to take charge of the Phuc Quoc League's external affairs (which consisted mainly of negotiations and liaison with the Japanese authorities).⁵⁵ He was actually present at the inaugural meeting in Shanghai.

Ho Hoc (or Ngoc) Lam traveled to Japan in 1908, when the Dong Du movement was active, and studied at the Tôkyô Dôbun Shoin (School of

⁵⁴ CD, p. 132; Tran Trong Khac (1971) p. 28; and Phan Boi Chau (1957). The *DRO file* contains reports on him under the name of Tran Phuc An, recording that he came to Japan at the age of 9, studied at Rekisen Primary School in Tôkyô's Koishikawa Ward, Mejiro Middle School, the Waseda University's Seiji-Keizai-Ka Senmon-bu (whose literal translation should be the specialized course of the Department of Political Science and Economics), and Shanghai Dôbunshoin (Shanghai School of Same Letters, a sister institute of Tôkyô Dôbunshoin), and after working for a while as an inspector of students and instructor at Shanghai Dôbunshoin, moved back to Japan in August 1925, taking the post of a calligraphy teacher at Mejiro Middle School. According to Matsumoto (1975), Nishida Mitsugi's autobiography also makes mention of Tran Van An.

⁵⁵ CD, p. 132.

Same Letters). After the movement collapsed, he moved to China, joined Duan Qirui's forces, and then came under the patronage of the Zhejiang warlords in Hangzhou. This later turned out to be an important factor inducing people such as Phan Boi Chau and Tran Huu Cong to base themselves there. Subsequently, he joined the Nanjing Government's army, and was stationed in Hunan Province in 1937.⁵⁶ When the Pacific War entered its final stage, he went to Guangxi Province, became a communist sympathizer, and was involved in the Vietnam Cach Mang Dong Chi Hoi (Society of Comrades for the Revolution of Vietnam).⁵⁷ Partly because of their mutual ties going back to Cuong De's deportation from Japan in 1909, when Ho Hoc Lam, along with a younger brother of Tran Huu Cong, accompanied him to Shanghai,⁵⁸ Ho Hoc Lam was also considered highly by Cuong De and his group. But in his case as well, there are no clear signs that he took an active part in the movement of the Phuc Quoc League that was launched in Shanghai in 1939.

Hoang Nam Hung left Vietnam for China in 1918 and became one of the core leaders of the Guangzhou group, as pointed out already.

Nothing is known about the personal record of Dang Nguyen Hung.

In addition to the people mentioned above, the inaugural meeting in Shanghai seems to have been joined by members of the Guangzhou group, including Tran Trung Lap and Mai Van Thong.

In other words, the inaugural meeting was attended by just Cuong

⁵⁶ Tran Trong Khac (1971) pp. 44-46.

⁵⁷ Jiang Yong Min (1971) p. 106ff.

⁵⁸ Tran Trong Khac (1971) pp. 44-47.

De's group, the Guangzhou group, and the Siam group. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence that three of the people elected to the central executive body – Tran Huu Cong, Ho Hoc Lam, and Nguen Hai Than, the last of whom is deemed to have once been affiliated with the Guangzhou group – actively participated in the subsequent activities of the Phuc Quoc League. It should be concluded, therefore, that Cuong De at the time was not very successful in bringing together various groups of Vietnamese activists in China. It must be kept in mind, however, as will be noted later, that the League had moderate success in its subsequent effort to recruit some comrades from Hong Kong.

Whatever the situation was surrounding its inception, there is no denying that the League set communications with and organization of comrades in both Vietnam and abroad as its top priority for the time being. According to Hoang Nam Hung's recollections, Hung himself was charged with the task of organizing within continental China. Mai Van Thong was dispatched to Siam. With regard to activists within Vietnam, efforts were made to get in touch with Tran Quang Vinh's Cao Dai religious group and Tran Van Ân (a different person from Tran Van An mentioned above) in southern Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem and Phan Thuc Ngo in central Vietnam, and Duong Ba Trac, Nguyen Xuan Chu, and Le Toan in northern Vietnam.⁵⁹ These individuals would get attention in the 1940s from both the Japanese and French authorities as being close to Cuong De and being pro-Japanese.

After the Shanghai meeting, Cuong De returned to Japan in or

⁵⁹ *HNH*. p. 191.

around March 1939.⁶⁰

Hoang Nam Hung and his associates went to Hong Kong to feed their comrades there with information on how the meeting had proceeded, and then returned to Guangzhou along with Tran Boi Long, Tran Trung Lap, Hoang Luong, Tran Minh Duc, and others.⁶¹

Hung recounts that because Guangzhou was under occupation by the Japanese army (since October 1938), Cuong De obtained from Wachi a letter introducing Hung and his group to the Japanese military authorities there. Through this letter of introduction, Hung and his associates were given a meeting with Lieutenant General “Trung-Gia Anh-Phu” of the “Field Army Headquarters stationed in Guangdong Province,” wherein the lieutenant general proposed establishing a collaborative relationship between the Japanese military and the Vietnamese group of revolutionaries, to which Hung’s group agreed.⁶²

This Japanese lieutenant general can be identified as Nakano Hidemitsu⁶³, who was actually a major general, not a lieutenant general at the time, and was serving as the head of the Guangdong Special Service Agency (Tokumu Kikan) from February 1939 until February 1940.⁶⁴ According to one former serviceman knowledgeable about affairs at the time,

⁶⁰ *CD*, p. 132.

⁶¹ *CD*, p. 132; *HNH*, p. 192.

⁶² *HNH*, p. 192.

⁶³ Nakano Hidemitsu (中野英光) should be transcribed as Trung Dã Anh Quang in Vietnamese, but *HNH* uses Trung Già Anh Phú. However, Da and Gia are pronounced the same way in northern accent, while the two tonetic marks “ ~ ” and “ ? ” are sometimes mixed up in south Vietnam where *HNH* was printed. In the meantime, the author of *HNH* seems to have been confused Quang (光) with Phú (夫), since the two Chinese characters resemble each other.

⁶⁴ Nihon Kindai Shiryô Kenkyûkai (1971) pp. 52 and 215.

Wachi was on good terms with the commander of the Japanese army stationed in Guangdong (the 21st Army: Dai-nijuichi Gun).⁶⁵ In fact, from May 1939, when Wachi left the Ran Agency, until September the same year, he was attached to the Guangdong army's headquarters.⁶⁶

It is plausible from the foregoing observations that not only did Wachi introduce the group of Vietnamese activists to the Guangdong Special Service Agency, but that he also continued to remain in touch with them after he became affiliated with the Guangdong army's headquarters.

Hoang Nam Hung and other members of the Guangzhou group were mainly engaged in two activities. One was collaboration with the Japanese in cultural fields: the group established a Hoa Nam Van Hoa Hiep Hoi (South China Cultural Association) so as to manipulate Chinese-language newspapers, with the aim of improving Chinese people's feelings toward Japan, which were growing worse under the ongoing Japan-China War. Naturally, this activity would have been financially supported by the Japanese army in Guangdong. Members of the group active in these activities included Tran Boi Long, Do Khai Hoan, Phan Trong Doan, and Hoang Nam Hung.⁶⁷

Another activity, aimed at establishing a military organization of Vietnamese with the support of the Japanese army, was pursued by Tran Trung Lap and Hoang Luong. According to Hung's recollections, Tran Trung

⁶⁵ Interview with Mr. Hayashi Hidezumi. However, according to the author's interview with Mr. Yamaguchi Getsurô, Wachi was not on good terms with Yazaki Kanjû who succeeded Nakano and served as the chief of the Guangdong Special Service Agency from March 1940 until September 1944, in spite of the fact that Wachi and Yazaki were in the same class at the Army Academy (Rikugun Shikan-Gakkô).

⁶⁶ Nihon Kindai Shiryô Kenkyûkai, ed (1971) p. 79.

⁶⁷ *HNH*, p. 192.

Lap was given the title of a captain affiliated with the Staff Office of the Japanese army in Guangdong.⁶⁸

On the other hand, Tran Huy Thanh, alias Tran Van An, who was staying in Tianjin, moved to Japan at long last in May, had a reunion with Cuong De who was already back in Tôkyô, and was apparently assigned some work by him.⁶⁹ The headquarters of the Phuc Quoc League was placed in Tôkyô.

II. The Government-General of Taiwan's Vietnamese Broadcasting Team

While Cuong De's group in Tôkyô and Hoang Nam Hung's in Guangzhou were engaged in their respective activities, the European War broke out in September 1939. Suddenly, the policy of southward expansion became a focus of keen attention in Japan. Meanwhile, the Government-General (Sotokufu) of Taiwan conceived of a plan to start Vietnamese broadcasts

⁶⁸ *HNH*, pp. 192-193. A photograph indicating the Japanese involvement in the activities of the armed organization led by Tran Trung Lap's group is included in the same book on the unnumbered page immediately following p. 212. The Chinese calligraphic letters written in the right-hand side of the photograph should be translated as the "15th Anniversary of the Death of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Hero, Pham Hong Thai". He committed suicide in June 1924, after failing to assassinate Governor-General of French Indochina Martial Merlin who was visiting Guangzhou. Thus, the photograph must have been taken in June 1939. In the Vietnamese caption attached to the photograph, the author of *HNH* explains it as showing "a band of revolutionary comrades of the Phuc Quoc Army before advancing to occupy the border area," and identifies the figures standing in the back row in the photo from right to left as Tran Trung Lap, Tran Minh Duc, myself (i.e., Hoang Nam Huug), Hoang Luong, and Tran Boi Long, and those sitting in the front row as Dien Thon and Chi Dien. The last two names can be identified respectively as the Japanese names Tamura and Shida. Both are attired as Buddhist monks, with their hair unshaven, with one of them wearing both a beard and mustache. It is noteworthy that two Japanese attired as Buddhist monks were present at the ceremony which the Phuc Quoc Army observed in commemoration of a Vietnamese revolutionary hero, and moreover that these two Japanese were perhaps members or affiliates of the Japanese army or special service agency.

⁶⁹ *CD*, p. 132.

from Taipei, and asked Cuong De to help. According to Cuong De, the French Indochinese authorities at the time were manipulating public opinion in ways sympathetic toward the Anglo-American camp and against the axis countries, and the Japanese therefore found it necessary to provide the Vietnamese with “appropriate information.”⁷⁰

This plan by the Government-General of Taiwan gained the consent of Section Eight of the General Staff Office in Tôkyô.⁷¹ It was characterized by staff officers of Section Eight as “essentially for the purpose of propaganda, and is not meant for agitating for the overthrow of the French Indochinese authorities or the independence of Vietnam,” and as being independent from the Japanese army’s advance into French Indochina.⁷² This testimony is in agreement with the foregoing recollection of Cuong De.

After getting the request, Cuong De immediately visited Taipei, and after consulting with the Government-General of Taiwan, communicated, through the intermediation of the Japanese consulate in Hong Kong, with Truong Anh Man, who was secretly staying there. At the same time, he asked Tran Huy Thanh, who stopped in Taipei on his way from Tôkyô to Guangzhou, to get in touch with comrades in Guangzhou.⁷³

According to Hoang Nam Hung’s recollections, it was in October 1939, when the Wang Jingwei government was established,⁷⁴ that the

⁷⁰ *CD*, p. 133.

⁷¹ Interview with Mr. Kadomatsu Shôichi.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *CD*, p. 133.

⁷⁴ The Wang Zhao Ming’s government in Nanjing was actually established in March 1940, not October 1939. It should be pointed out, however, that after escaping from Chongqing in December 1938, Wang met with Prime Minister Konoe Ayamaro in Tôkyô in May 1939, and had discussions with Wang Kemin and others in Nanjing in October the same year. Thus he had

Japanese authorities asked for Cuong De's help in organizing a team to support the Vietnamese broadcasting project. Toward the end of October, shortly after learning about the plan, Hung left Guangzhou for Taipei accompanied by Do Khai Hoan, Hoang Binh and his wife, and Nguyen Dai Kha.⁷⁵

Cuong De's recollections are, however, that it was only Hoang Nam Hung and Do Khai Hoan who arrived in Taipei from Guangzhou at the end of October, and that Hoang Binh and his wife came to Taipei through the introduction of Le Kien, who came from Hong Kong somewhat later.⁷⁶ This suggests that Hoang Binh and his wife joined the broadcasting team not from Guangzhou but from Hong Kong.

By early December, Truong Anh Man, Le Trung, and Le Kien had arrived from Hong Kong to join the team.⁷⁷ According to Hoang Nam Hung, a total of 21 Vietnamese gathered together in Taipei.⁷⁸ Thus, many of the members of the Phuc Quoc League, including Cuong De, were to stay in Taipei for an extended period. They therefore decided to relocate the League's headquarters from Tôkyô to Taipei.⁷⁹

The Vietnamese Broadcasting Team (Betonamu-go Hôso-han) was organized by the Information Section (Jôhō-ka) of the Government-General

already started working toward establishing a new central regime by late 1939.

75 HNH, p. 194.

76 CD, p. 134.

77 The descriptions of CD (p. 134) and HNH (p. 195) are in agreement with each other as far as the names of these three people are concerned. On the timing of their arrival in Taipei, however, the former claims that it was in early December, while the latter put it the month following that of Huug and his associates' arrival (at the end of October).

78 HNH, p. 195.

79 CD, p. 134; HNH, p. 195.

of Taiwan,⁸⁰ with Hoang Nam Hung, Do Khai Hoan, Truong Anh Man, and Le Trung given charge of supervisory responsibilities.⁸¹ In addition to the Vietnamese, a Japanese woman (or two women) who had lived long in Vietnam and could speak the language also joined the team.⁸² No information is available as to when the broadcast started, but it is reported that every day's program began at 10:00 p.m.⁸³ The individuals on the team, after having lived in exile for many years, seem to have been delighted to have the chance to talk directly to their countrymen in Vietnam.⁸⁴

To add in passing, according to the testimony of a Japanese involved in the project, the Broadcasting Team was organized on the basis of cooperation between Section Eight of the General Staff Office in Tôkyô and the Government-General of Taiwan, as pointed out already.⁸⁵ It is reported, on the other hand, that Section Eight had no knowledge of Wachi's and the Japanese Guangdong army's involvement in Vietnamese activists,⁸⁶ and that members engaged in intelligence activities in Taiwan at the time were

⁸⁰ *CD*, p. 134.

⁸¹ *CD* (p. 134) states that they were "commissioned by the Information Section of the Government-General" to take charge of the team, while *HNH* (p. 195) states that they were "assigned by the Government-General to assume the responsibility in the [broadcasting] supervisory team."

⁸² *CD* (p. 134) specifies one Japanese woman by the name of ba Muta Hanako, while *HNH* (p. 195) says that several Japanese women joined the team, identifying two of them by the names of ba Muta and co Gamada. ("Ba" means a relatively elder and/or married woman, while "co" indicates a younger and/or unmarried woman). In his interview with the author, Mr. Kadomatsu Shôichi (formerly a staff officer of Section Eight) recounts that there was in Hanoi a Japanese woman named "Ohana," who was originally from Amakusa, Kumamoto Prefecture, and who was a former *karayuki-san* (young Japanese girls sent abroad to work as prostitutes), that during his stay in French Indochina in 1938-39 he employed her as his maid, that in order to help make her livelihood secure, he introduced her to the Government-General of Taiwan, and that she was aged somewhere between 50 and 60. This must have been Muta Hanako, referred to by *CD* above.

⁸³ *HNH*, p. 195.

⁸⁴ *HNH*, pp. 194-195.

⁸⁵ See notes 71 and 82 in this Section.

⁸⁶ Interview with Mr. Kadomatsu Shôichi; telephone interview with Mr. Ozeki Masaji.

on bad terms with both Wachi⁸⁷ and the Special Service Agency in Guangdong.⁸⁸

What is noteworthy here, therefore, is that the Japanese activities toward the Vietnamese Phuc Quoc League were carried out by two different bodies – the Ran Agency led by Wachi and the Special Service Agency in Guangdong on one hand and Section Eight of the General Staff Office in Tôkyô and the Japanese authorities in Taiwan on the other. They acted independently from, and perhaps in rivalry with, each other.

In this connection, the following episode recorded in Hoang Nam Hung's recollections is suggestive: in or around September 1940, a Japanese lieutenant colonel affiliated with the army unit in Guangzhou visited Taipei, and asked Hoang Nam Hung to return to Guangzhou and take charge of the Phuc Quoc Army's southern advance; Hung for his part, because he knew well that the military authorities in Taiwan were willing to retain him, *did not tell* the authorities in Taipei about this request, and sent Le Trung to Guangzhou by air in place of himself. However, the army unit in Guangzhou, which needed Hung but had no use for Le Trung, sent him back to Taipei on the same day.⁸⁹ This anecdote suggests that the Vietnamese seem to have been aware of the antagonism between the Japanese authorities in Taipei and those in Guangzhou, and kept in touch with both of them, while trying

⁸⁷ See note 37 in Section I.

⁸⁸ Interviews with Messrs. Yamaguchi Getsurô, Tsuchiya Yonekichi, Kadomatsu Shôichi, and Ujihara Susumu.

⁸⁹ *HNH*, p. 196. This episode is placed in paragraphs following the description of another matter which took place at the end of September 1940. The book identifies the timing of the episode to be "approximately one month after" the incident described in the preceding paragraph. But this would mean that the episode took place after the Phuc Quoc Army had already begun its southern advance on September 22. It is assumed here, therefore, that the episode took place during September 1940.

to carefully distribute their members to the two rival organizations as they were requested.

In Taipei, in response to a further request from the Japanese side, Hoang Nam Hung, Duong Van Thu, Giap Ngoc Minh, and Le Trung began teaching Vietnamese to Japanese officers who were preparing for the imminent advance into Vietnam. Hung recounts that he and others on the teaching staff, well aware of the purpose of the language instruction, did not only teach their students Vietnamese, but also told them about Vietnamese customs and habits, as well as their hopes for independence and liberation.⁹⁰

As the Japanese army's advance into northern French Indochina drew near, Hung and his associates began to look forward to a communication from the "Japanese Staff Office" instructing them to leave Taiwan with the Japanese navy and to land on Vietnam.⁹¹

This indicates that, though they had gathered in Taipei with the original and primary purpose of organizing propaganda broadcasting, the Vietnamese gradually became involved (whatever intention the Japanese might have had) in the Japanese plan to advance into northern Indochina, and came to identify Taipei as a base where they would remain until their re-entry into Vietnam.

At any rate, the Japanese army's advance into northern Indochina, as is well known, was being pursued in accordance with two plans: one envisaging the Fifth Division (Dai-go Shidan) of the army in the Guangxi

⁹⁰ *HNH*, p. 195.

⁹¹ *HNH*, p. 196.

area advancing by land to cross the borders and enter Dong Dang and Lang Son; the other envisaging both the army (namely the Indochina Expeditionary Force: Indoshina Haken-gun) and the navy advancing from Hainan Island by sea to land on Do Son or its vicinity.⁹² Apparently, Hung and his group in Taipei were expecting to advance into Vietnam as part of the latter plan.

On the other hand, members of the Phuc Quoc League in Guangzhou were preparing to advance into Vietnam by land from the Guangxi area, as envisaged by the former plan. As mentioned already, in Guangzhou, Tran Trung Lap and Hoang Luong had been charged with the task of organizing armed forces. It should be kept in mind here, however, that since the autumn of 1939 when its main body moved to Taipei, the Phuc Quoc League was concentrating its efforts primarily in the propaganda broadcast in Taipei. In other words, activities in Guangzhou had been reduced to a matter of secondary importance, as evident from the fact that neither Tran Trung Lap nor Hoang Luong, though charged with the responsibility for organizing armed forces there, were members of the League's central executive body.

However, by August 1940, the Japanese army in Guangdong was finalizing its plan to advance into Vietnam, making it necessary for the headquarters of the Phuc Quoc League reinforce its activities in the Guangzhou area. On August 12, 1940, Cuong De appointed Tran Huy Thanh, a close aide who was in charge of the League's external affairs and

⁹² Bôeichô Senshishitsu ed. (1975) pp. 287-288; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed. (1963) p. 212ff.

was fluent in Japanese, as the organization's chief representative in Guangzhou. Cuong De charged him with the task of communicating with the Japanese military in Guangzhou and supervising the activities of armed units undertaken by Tran Trung Lap and others.⁹³

In the meantime, Cuong De recounts, the League placed Le Kien in Hong Kong as a liaison d'affairs, given its important and convenient position in communication⁹⁴ and transportation with Vietnam, Thailand and various parts of China. As a matter of fact, as evident from the foregoing observations, several Vietnamese from Hong Kong joined the Phuc Quo League's activities in Taiwan. It goes without saying, however, that Hong Kong was important for the League only as a contact point, and that Taipei and Guangzhou carried far greater importance at the time as a base for broadcast and propaganda activities, in the former case, and as a base for military campaigns, in the latter.

. The Insurrection by the Vietnamese Phuc Quoc Army

The last months of 1939 turned out to be a period of extreme importance in Japan's policy toward French Indochina. First, the mainstream faction of the army, in the face of frustrations of its longstanding policy of northern expansion, began to show interest in a southward advance. More specifically,

⁹³ *CD*, p. 134; *HNH*, p. 196.

⁹⁴ *CD*, p. 134. As pointed out above, Le Kien moved from Hong Kong to Taipei to join Cuong De and other people in December 1939. Thus, the exact sequence of events—whether Le Kien had been appointed as a liaison man in Hong Kong prior to his arrival in Taipei, or whether he was appointed after his arrival and dispatched to Hong Kong again—is unknown.

the policy of northern expansion suffered a major setback with its defeat in the Nomonhan Incident (May to September 1939) and the conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact in August.

Following the removal of many members of the General Staff Office in Tôkyô who were held liable for the defeat in the Nomonhan Incident, Major General Tominaga Kyôji was appointed on September 13, 1939 to be chief of the First Department (Dai-ichi-bu). This Department, usually called Sakusen-bu (Strategies and Operations Department), was one of the most important organs in the General Staff Office. Subsequently, he emerged as a leading advocate of the policy of militaristic southward expansion within the army.⁹⁵

Second, this was followed closely by the beginning of the European War on September 3. Japan thought that it was now time to start pressing France to make concessions on French Indochinese issues, beginning with the severance of the aid-to-Jiang route.⁹⁶

Third, an operation into Nanning was launched on November 15. The operation was forcibly advocated as early as in September by Tominaga shortly after his appointment. The navy had no objection to the operation, which it had been arguing for. Though the operation's stated purpose was to cut the aid-to-Jiang route, and even though this must have been the primary objective for the time being, the First Department of the General Staff Office at the time, under Tominaga, intended to use the operation to pave the way for Japan's policy toward French Indochina, and ultimately for

⁹⁵ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed (1975) p. 45; Itô (1958) p. 153.

⁹⁶ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed (1975) pp. 263-264; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed. (1963) p. 34ff.

an overall southward expansion policy.⁹⁷

In fact, the Central Agreement of October 14, 1939 between the Army and Navy concerning the Nanning Operation contained an appended clause stating that “the Imperial Headquarters (Daihonei) shall deal with French Indochinese issues, following the occupation of Nanning.”⁹⁸ The Nanning operation was thus important not only because it was regarded by the military, and particularly the General Staff Office’s First Department, as a first step of further southward advance toward French Indochina and eventually Southeast Asia in general, but also because the operation led to the stationing of fighting units of the Japanese army in the border area between China and Vietnam.

Moreover, at the time of the Nanning operation, the organizational structure of the army’s units in the Guangdong and Guangxi areas was further expanded and elevated in status. More specifically, the 21st Army in Guangdong was abolished, and replaced by the newly established South China Theatre Force (Minami-Shina Hômen-Gun, which was of higher status.⁹⁹ Furthermore, as a result of the highhanded manipulation by Tominaga and his subordinates, on July 10, 1940, this unit was removed from the command of the General Headquarters of the China Expeditionary Force (Shina Haken-Gun) and placed under the direct command of Tôkyô.¹⁰⁰ In the meantime, as Nanning was brought under Japanese occupation, the 22nd Army (Dai-nijûni Gun) was newly established there and field troops

⁹⁷ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed. (1975) pp. 45-47 and 56ff.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 88.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 272-275.

mainly consisting of the Fifth Division (Dai-go Shidan) were placed under its command.¹⁰¹

Once a new headquarters was established and equipped with fighting units, it would naturally claim a greater say of its own, and would also start insisting on its own operational schemes in order to justify its unique existence. This was especially so, given the sense of skepticism that had prevailed from the outset among the top military leaders in Tōkyō about the effectiveness of the Nanning operation, and also the fact that, practically speaking, the forces in the Guangxi area had already proved to be very costly to maintain while failing to produce tangible results in their attempt to cut the aid-to-Jiang route. The military unit in Nanning (i.e., the 22nd Army) and its superior organization, the Guangdong Headquarters of the South China Theatre Force, in an effort to effect a breakthrough in this situation, began to insist on further advances into the interior of China as well as into French Indochina.¹⁰² This insistence on the part of the military leaders in Guangdong and Nanning resonated with the militaristic and hard-line attitudes taken by the General Staff Office's First Department headed by General Tominaga.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 88.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 89-90, and 258-260; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed. (1963) pp. 160-162, 187-188, and 200-204; Satō (1966) p. 94ff.

¹⁰³ Instances in which the General Staff Office's First Department (or Sakusen-Bu) insisted upon a militaristic and hard-line policy are too numerous to count. They included, to mention only a few of the important ones: the incident of June 1940 in which Chief Okada of the Military Strategies and Operations Section (Sakusen-Ka) of the General Staff Office's First Department showed a hard-line policy toward French Indochina to the Nishihara Mission; the incident also of June in which the First Department issued an order, at its own discretion, to the Fifth Division in Nanning to advance toward the borders with Indochina; and the incidents of September in which Chief of the First Department Tominaga flew to Ha Noi and directed his subordinates there to act along tough lines, and in which he issued at his own initiative an order to the South China Theater Force, instructing it to wait in alert for an advance into French Indochina. For further

As the year 1940 began, the war situation in Europe developed rapidly, with the Netherlands surrendering to Germany in May, and France in June. Within Japan, the Konoe cabinet took office in July, adopting the “Outline of the Basic National Policy” and the “Outline of the Empire’s National Policy to Cope with the Changing Situation,” thereby giving approval to a new national policy of more vigorous interference toward the Southern Area (Nanpô).¹⁰⁴ It should be noted, however, that at that point in time the government and the mainstream of the military were hoping to realize a peaceful advance into French Indochina. Inside the army, however, the General Staff Office’s First Department under Tominaga and the leaders of the units in Guangdong and Nanning opposed the idea of a peaceful advance, instead advocating an operation to seize French Indochina by force.¹⁰⁵

In other words, by July 1940 there had emerged within the Japanese leaders two conflicting schools of thought over what policy Japan should take toward French Indochina. On the one side, the government and the mainstream faction in the military insisted upon a peaceful advance into French Indochina. In accord with the wishes of this group, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs repeatedly negotiated with the French embassy in Tôkyô and the Vichy government in France, while in Ha Noi the French

details about these incidents, see Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed (1975) pp. 260, 264-265, and 288ff; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed. (1963) pp. 191, 200-201, and 207ff.

¹⁰⁴ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed. (1975) p. 211ff.; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed. (1963) p. 151ff.

¹⁰⁵ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed. (1975) pp. 261 and 266. On the other hand, Satô (1966) p. 96ff asserts that it was only the First Department and its Chief Tominaga at the General Staff Office in Tôkyô that continued to insist on a hard-line policy from the Nanning operation until the advance into northern French Indochina, and that the South China Theater Army (based in Guangdong) took a rather negative attitude toward them. This assertion, however, smacks of self-justification on the part of Satô and the Guangdong headquarters with which he was affiliated.

Indochinese Border Monitoring Body (Futsuin Kokkyô Kanshidan), also known as the Nishihara Mission (Nishihara Kikan), which had been dispatched in June 1940, was negotiating with the French Indochinese authorities.

Moreover, in preparation for peaceful advance into Indochina, an Indochina Expeditionary Force (Indoshina Haken-Gun) was organized on September 6, which was to move from Hainan Island by sea and land on Do Son (near the port city of Hai Phong) with the navy's escort. If a peaceful advance was achieved, therefore, the Fifth Division under the command of the 22nd Army in Nanning would be deprived of the honorable chance to be the first to advance into and stay in French Indochina, and would instead be forced to accept the humble role of withdrawing from the Guangxi area, simply passing through the Vietnamese territory after the Indochina Expeditionary Force completed its peaceful landing.¹⁰⁶

On the other side were the General Staff Office's First Department led by Tominaga, the headquarters in Guangdong and Nanning, and the Fifth Division at the front, which stubbornly insisted on a belligerent advance. During the night on September 22, while aware that a military

¹⁰⁶ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed.(1975) p. 287ff; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed.(1963) p. 212ff. It should be noted, however, that the Indochina Expeditionary Force was organized under the command of the South China Theater Army (based in Guangdong), as was the 22nd Army based in Nanning. Nonetheless, the Guangdong headquarters might have felt more willing to give the 22nd Army, than the hastily assembled Indochina Expeditionary Force, a chance to shine in the advance into French Indochina, or might have felt sorry for the 22nd Army being deprived of the chance to play an active role in the advance into French Indochina. Meanwhile, it is quite evident from several incidents that the 22nd Army's headquarters in Nanning as well as the Fifth Division under its command and at the front line were deeply dissatisfied with the plan for peaceful advance. Incidentally, the landing operation in the Do Son area by the Indochina Expeditionary Force was actually carried out in a relatively brutal manner, not really in a peaceful way as had been expected. See Tachikawa (2000) p.87.

pact had been concluded between the Japanese and French Indochinese authorities in Ha Noi, Japanese troops stationed in Guangxi, ignoring the pact, forcibly carried out an operation by force of arms.¹⁰⁷

As to the question of how the Vietnamese behaved during this period, the main body of the Phuc Quoc League in Taipei, as pointed out already, seems to have been expecting to move to Vietnam by sea together with the Indochina Expeditionary Force.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, Tran Trung Lap and other members of the League in Guangzhou moved in advance to the Guangxi area to wait until they could enter Vietnam by land along with the Fifth Division.¹⁰⁹

Tran Trung Lap and his group were joined by Ujihara Susumu and Masui Jun'ichi in Nanning, Guangxi Province. These two Japanese were employees of the Taiwan Colonization Corporation (Taiwan Takushoku Kaisha), who had once lived in French Indochina. They came from Taipei to Guangzhou at the request of Lieutenant Colonel Nakai Masutarô, a staff officer in charge of intelligence activities affiliated with the South China Theater Force. From Guangzhou, they arrived in Nanning on July 20, 1940, by a military plane, as civilian employees attached to the Fifth Division.¹¹⁰ It is reported that Tran Trung Lap and his group came to Nanning after the

¹⁰⁷ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed.(1975) p. 272ff.; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai ed. (1963) p. 194ff.

¹⁰⁸ See the third paragraph from the end of Section II.

¹⁰⁹ *CD*, p. 134.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Mr. Ujihara Susumu; Ujihara's memoirs entitled "Nihongun Jûgun Kiroku" (The Record of My Service in the Japanese Army) and "Rireki Môshitatesho" (A Statement of Personal Record), both of which were written after the war; interview with Mr. Uchikawa Ômi (who was stationed in French Indochina in 1937-43 and witnessed the events). According to Ujihara's accounts in his "Rireki Môshitatesho" above, at the time of his appointment as a civilian employee of the army, he was assigned the task of "guiding the Japanese troops' advance into northern French Indochina, supervising the Vietnamese Phuc Quoc League, and engaging in intelligence activities about the attitudes of the military and civilians in Indochina."

arrival of Ujihara and Masui, and that the group consisted of just three or four persons.¹¹¹

In the middle of the night of September 22, Tran Trung Lap and his group crossed the border into Vietnam along with the Japanese army's Fifth Division. According to the recollections of the Vietnamese, they gathered together various forces, including Vietnamese soldiers in the French Indochinese colonial army who had been taken as prisoners of war by the Japanese army, Vietnamese youths from various areas who had volunteered to join them, and troops consisting of ethnic minorities under the command of Nong Quoc Long; and organized them into a new force of nearly 2,000 men.¹¹²

On the other hand, Ujihara remembers as follows: when the Phuc Quoc Army was organized in the mountains of Dong Dang and Lang Son, it had a force of about 500 men. Subsequently on September 27 or 28, in the drill field of Lang Son, the Japanese army released Vietnamese soldiers in the French Indochinese army who had been kept there as prisoners of war; on that occasion, Lap and other members called on the released soldiers to join the Phuc Quoc Army, recruiting several hundred. The weapons and ammunitions of the French Indochinese colonial army which the Japanese had captured were handed over to the Phuc Quoc Army by Colonel Gondô Masatake. As it started to move southward from Lang Son, the ranks of the Phuc Quoc Army swelled to include some 1,500 soldiers.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Interview with Mr. Ujihara Susumu.

¹¹² *CD*, p. 135; *HNH*, pp. 196-197.

¹¹³ Interviews with Messrs. Ujihara Susumu and Uchikawa Omi. Incidentally, McAlister (1969) p.119 points out that thanks to the Japanese army's generosity, the Phuc Quoc Army came into

The Phuc Quoc Army ¹¹⁴ was led by Tran Trung Lap as Commander-in-Chief, Hoang Luong as Deputy Commander,¹¹⁵ and Ujihara and Masui as Advisors.¹¹⁶ As the Japanese army advanced further, the Phuc Quoc Army's area of activity expanded, reportedly stretching beyond the area occupied by the Japanese soldiers, and reaching as far as the outskirts of Ha Noi. As it expanded its sphere of influence, according to Ujihara's testimony, the Phuc Quoc Army issued decrees and even military currencies.¹¹⁷ Merchants from Lang Son contributed money to it.¹¹⁸

However, the Phuc Quoc Army's good fortunes were short-lived. In order to hold it in check to restore control over it, the government and the mainstream military leaders in Tôkyô quickly started to straighten out the situation, urging the Nishihara Mission to negotiate with its counterparts in Ha Noi. On September 25, a ceasefire agreement was concluded between them. On October 5, the Fifth Division released its French Indochinese prisoners of war, and toward the end of October, it was compelled to

possession of weapons in usable condition estimated to consist of 5,000 rifles, 20 automatic rifles, 25,000 rounds of ammunition, and 3,000 hand grenades. But this description is unbelievable. In his response of February 12, 1979 to the author's inquiry, Mr. McAlister states that the foregoing figures are based on the number of weapons of the French Indochinese Army confiscated by the Japanese, and the number of those which might have been subsequently made available for the Vietnamese, and that the statistics are based on unpublished espionage reports he saw at the French Army Archive in Paris. In other words, the figures cited by Mr. McAlister are his own estimates.

¹¹⁴ *CD* consistently use the name Viet Nam Kien Quoc Quan (Nation Building Army of Vietnam) as mentioned in note 1.

¹¹⁵ *CD*, p. 134; interview with Mr. Ujihara Susumu. According to Mr. Uchikawa Ômi's recollections, on the other hand, the "Dai Viet Phuc Quoc Doc Lap Quan (Independence Army for the National Restoration of Great Viet) was headed by Tran Trung Lap as Commander-in-Chief and Ngo Phuoc Chinh as Deputy Commander (Interview with Mr. Uchikawa).

¹¹⁶ Interview with Mr. Ujihara Susumu.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* According to Sacks (1949) p. 51, the Phuc Quoc Army is also said to have established a "provisional government" in Dong Dang.

¹¹⁸ *HNH*, p. 197.

withdraw from Indochina via Hai Phong.¹¹⁹

As the French colonial troops returned to the occupied area to take place of the withdrawing Japanese soldiers, the Phuc Quoc Army, now having been deprived of its backing, confronted a crisis. According to Cuong De, on October 25 Colonel Nakai and Tran Huy Thanh visited the Lang Son area from Ha Noi, met leaders of the Phuc Quoc Army, and tried to persuade them to withdraw to China.¹²⁰

Colonel Nakai must have been the Nakai Masutarô referred to earlier. Since he had been transferred from his position as a staff officer of the South China Theatre Force to a staff officer for strategies and operations attached to the Indochina Expeditionary Force, he must have entered Ha Noi by sea(or by air),¹²¹ and Tran Huy Thanh likely accompanied him on that occasion.

According to Cuong De, Hoang Luong agreed to withdraw as persuaded, but Tran Trung Lap, who refused, was captured by the French Indochinese colonial army and killed on December 26.¹²²

Hoang Nam Hung's recollections give us a slightly different version of the story: the Phuc Quoc Army refused to end its war of resistance even after the Japanese withdrawal, dividing itself into three units respectively

¹¹⁹ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed. (1975) p. 289ff.; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed. (1963) p. 65ff and p. 241ff. According to the daily record compiled by the Tōa Kenkyūjo ed. (1943) pp. 647-648, 1,052 French Indochinese prisoners of war were handed over from the Fifth Division to the French side on October 6, and a telegraph dispatch from Hanoi dated November 4 reported that "the Japanese army was withdrawing from the Lang Son area".

¹²⁰ *CD*, p. 135. A mention is also made in *HNH* p. 197 that Tran Huy Thanh was dispatched by the Japanese army to Lang Son on a mission to persuade the Phuc Quoc Army into withdrawing to China.

¹²¹ Interviews with Messrs. Ujihara Susumu and Uchikawa Ōmi.

¹²² *CD*, p. 135.

led by Lap, Luong, and Nong Quoc Long. Each force began to retreat toward the Guangxi area while continuing to fight. Of the three leaders, Lap was unfortunately captured, but the two others managed to withdraw into the Chinese territory.¹²³ As they entered Guangxi, the surviving members of the Phuc Quoc Army were regarded as pro-Japanese, and were disarmed by the Chinese authorities. They were, however, allowed to keep the existing organization intact.¹²⁴ Subsequently, they seem to have either joined pro-Kuomintang Vietnamese organizations or organizations affiliated with the Viet Minh.

Meanwhile, the members of the Phuc Quoc League in Taipei, who were closely watching the unfolding of the situation, seem to have been prevented from landing in Vietnam along with the Japanese Indochina Expeditionary Force. Upon hearing the news that the Phuc Quoc Army led by Tran Trung Lap's group, after having crossed into Vietnam along with the Fifth Division, had been abandoned by the Japanese and fallen victim to the French colonial army's suppression, they were so deeply discouraged and indignant that some filed resignations with the Government-General of Taiwan.¹²⁵ Ultimately, however, all the members seem to have remained there under the Japanese protection.¹²⁶

Cuong De returned to Tôkyô from Taipei in May 1941, and the Phuc

¹²³ *HNH*, pp. 197-199.

¹²⁴ *HNH*, *Ibid.*, p. 199; Sacks (1949) p. 61; Jiang Yong Min (1971) p. 127ff.

¹²⁵ *HNH*, p. 200.

¹²⁶ *HNH*, p.195 states that when the Broadcasting Team was organized in Taipei, a total of 21 comrades gathered. The same author in *HNH*, p. 201 says that in May 1946, seven months after the Japanese surrender, "all 21 of us" were transferred by a Chinese ship from Taiwan to Guangzhou. These accounts suggest that all of them including Hoang Nam Hung remained in Taipei throughout the period of the Pacific War.

Quoc League's headquarters was also moved to Tôkyô.¹²⁷ The League's administrative affairs were taken care of by Nguyen Rinh Nhiep, who had escaped from Vietnam around that time and arrived in Tôkyô via Taiwan,¹²⁸ and subsequently by Truong Anh Man.

Hoang Nam Hung continued to engage in activities at the Information Section of the Government-General of Taiwan.¹²⁹

Conclusions

The earlier sections of this paper have examined the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the League for the National Restoration of Vietnam (Phuc Quoc League), its activities mainly in Guangzhou and Taipei, as well as the process leading to the Phuc Quoc Army's insurrection and its ultimate failure.

Seen in the light of these observations, it is clear that the hypothesis advanced by Truong Buu Lam mentioned in the Introductory Section, that the Phuc Quoc army's insurrection was an action taken independently of the Japanese army, is untenable.

Lam's argument rests on the following three contentions. First, it is inconceivable that the Japanese army in Guangdong would have handed over weapons to a group of Vietnamese activists without receiving an explicit order from Tôkyô. Second, providing assistance to Vietnamese

¹²⁷ *CD*, p. 137.

¹²⁸ *CD*, p. 137; interviews with Messrs. Tsuchiya Yonekichi and Individual B.

¹²⁹ *CD*, pp. 137-138.

nationalists was evidently not yet part of Japan's national policy in 1939 and 1940. If one assumes that Japan had something to do with the armed insurrection, then it becomes impossible to explain why the Japanese policy was so inconsistent, namely, why the Japanese army collaborated with the insurgent Vietnamese force only for the first several days and then abandoned it so easily. And third, given the fact that local groups close to or affiliated with the Phuc Quoc League had been active in the area for some time, the Phuc Quoc Army could have gotten hold of the weapons, even in the absence of Japanese help.¹³⁰

What stands out about Lam's argument is that it is based on the assumption that in working out and implementing policies, the Japanese government and military organizations, from top to bottom within each organ, and from the center in Tôkyô all the way down to the smallest overseas units, were always consistent, and totally free from contradictions or discrepancies in their understanding of the policy objectives and in their choice of means and methods for policy implementation. Arguments founded upon this sort of assumption are precisely what Graham Allison calls arguments in the theory of policymaking process predicated on a "rational model."¹³¹ As Allison and others point out, however, the actual policymaking and policy implementing processes in government and military organizations often operate in ways that cannot be explained from the standpoint of the "rational model," because individual units have functions and routines of their own, on the one hand, as well as interests

¹³⁰ Truong Buu Lam (1973) pp. 243-245.

¹³¹ Allison (1971) ch. 1.

and claims of their own, on the other.¹³²

In reference to the contents of this paper, precisely because they had functions and routines of their own, organizational units such as the Ran Agency, the Special Service Agency in Guangdong, the Government-General of Taiwan, and Section Eight of the General Staff Office were able to carry out some actions at their own discretion, and within the limits of the budget under their own control. In undertaking such secret and/or half-secret operations and actions, individual units might or might not have asked superior organs for judgment or approval, and might or might not have filed reports with superior organs on an *ex post facto* basis. In the case of propaganda and intelligence organs, in particular, it would not necessarily be regarded as overstepping their authority even if they came into contact with a group of Vietnamese activists at their own discretion, giving them financial aid, obtaining information from them, and having them engage in propaganda activities.

By contrast, helping a group of Vietnamese activists organize an armed unit and providing weapons to them were qualitatively different from the propaganda and information gathering activities mentioned above; they went beyond the authority and daily routines peculiar to special service agencies or military units. These activities, therefore, must be explained in terms different from propaganda and intelligence activities.

What is important here is that, as pointed out already, there existed within the Japanese government and military at the time two different

¹³² Ibid., Chs. 3 and 5.

groups with conflicting interests and claims. In Allison's model, two groups at odds, with a conflict of interests and claims, are usually assumed to find a point of compromise through "bargaining."¹³³ However, the Japanese military advance into northern French Indochina in 1940 was exceptional, in the sense that each of the two concerned groups implemented its own plan without a compromise being reached through bargaining.

More specifically, as pointed out in the preceding section, the army stationed in south China and the faction in the General Staff Office led by Tominaga, upholding interests and claims that ran counter to those of the Japanese government and the military's mainstream leaders, forcibly carried out their operation into French Indochina by land and by force of arms, thus committing an act that was not endorsed by their superiors in Tôkyô and that exceeded their own authority.

The Japanese government and mainstream leaders of the army and the navy were of the opinion that the advance into French Indochina should be carried out peacefully. Accordingly, an agreement was reached between Generals Nishihara and Martin through their negotiations in Ha Noi. It prescribed that the Japanese forces should peacefully advance into French Indochina, and that the advance should be first led not by the Fifth Division under the command of the 22nd Army stationed in the Guangxi area, but by a separately organized Indochina Expeditionary Force which would arrive by sea.

The 22nd Army and the Fifth Division were taken by surprise, and

¹³³ Ibid., p. 144ff.

very humiliated by this, because they had been making preparations with the firm belief that they would naturally have the honor of being the first to charge into French Indochina. Another important factor was the fact that upon the completion of the Japanese advance into northern Indochina, the 22nd Army was scheduled to be abolished, as its stationing in the Nanning area was costly and was proving useless in controlling the supply route to help the Kuomintang forces. Moreover, once the Japanese military advanced into northern Indochina, it would become possible to more effectively carry out the activities to cut the aid-to-Jiang route from within Indochinese territory, making the Japanese forces in Nanning even more redundant. It is undeniable that the leaders of the 22nd Army and the Fifth Division must have wished to make a name for themselves before being removed from the front line of the southward advance. In the meanwhile, the General Staff Office's First Department under General Tominaga, which had drawn up the plan for the Nanning operation and from the outset had advocated an advance into Indochina by force of arms, seems to have been sympathetic toward the Fifth Division's military operation into Vietnamese territory.

The Phuc Quoc Army was organized at the initiative of these overseas organizations of the army that were insistent upon a hard-line policy, and it entered Indochina along with them.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ This paper leaves much to be desired in analyzing what specific intent or purpose the Japanese army headquarters in Guangdong and Nanning as well as the Fifth Division had in supporting the Phuc Quoc Army. Moreover, it also remains unknown whether Tominaga and his subordinate staff officers at the General Staff Office's First Department had concrete knowledge of the existence and activities of the Phuc Quoc Army.

In response to the first question raised by Truong Buu Lam, the following can be pointed out. So long as the military charge into French Indochina was carried out by overseas units of the army without the approval of the government and mainstream military leaders of Japan, it is also natural to consider the subsequent act of giving support to or supplying weapons to the Phuc Quoc Army as having been undertaken by the military leaders in the field at their own discretion. What is more, as noted in the preceding section, the weapons supplied to the Phuc Quoc Army had actually been confiscated by the Japanese from the French Indochinese colonial army. If the Japanese military unit had diverted its own weapons and ammunition to Vietnamese activists without permission, it must have been subjected to disciplinary action, as pointed out by Truong Buu Lam, but the Fifth Division at the time was in possession of weapons seized from the French colonial army, which were not on the list of officially supplied articles.

With regard to the second question raised by Truong Buu Lam—that if the Japanese army had much to do with the Phuc Quoc Army, then it is difficult to understand why its policy was so inconsistent, or put in other words, why the Japanese army, having once closely collaborated with the Phuc Quoc Army, abruptly changed its attitude and abandoned the Vietnamese activists—it should be pointed out as follows.

The Japanese military unit that charged inside French Indochina from the Guangxi area was one that insisted upon a hard-line militaristic policy, and was willing to protect the Phuc Quoc Army. However, after the hard-line faction won battles in the early stages of the offense and occupied

Dong Dang and Lang Son, the mainstream faction of the military, which was opposed to the militaristic faction, intervened to try to straighten out the situation. In Indochina, the Nishihara Mission negotiated a ceasefire with the French authorities, and saw to the Japanese occupation forces' withdrawal, while the army's top leaders in Tôkyô took a series of steps, including the demotion of First Department Chief Tominaga and middle-ranking officers in the Strategies and Operations Section (Sakusen-Ka) of that Department; the placement of the commanders of the South China Theatre Force and the 22nd Army on the reserve list, and the handing down of punishments to the chief of the Fifth Division, and the chiefs of brigades, regiments, and the battalions involved for their failure to prevent the border violation incident of September 6 (a small incident which took place earlier than the military operation to advance into Indochinese territory). Furthermore, the Fifth Division was ordered to withdraw from the occupied area in Indochina and to relocate to the Shanghai area, the headquarters of the 22nd Army was dissolved on the grounds that it had finished performing its role of cutting the aid-to-Jiang route, and the forces that remained in Nanning and its vicinity were ordered to withdraw via the Qinzhou Bay.¹³⁵

Thus, all the groups that had insisted upon entering into French Indochina from Guangxi by force of arms were rooted out and removed from the scene. This naturally means that the group that had supported the Phuc Quoc Army disappeared from Indochina and its vicinity. Subsequently, the

¹³⁵ Bôeichô Senshishitsu, ed. (1975) p. 289ff.; Nihon Kokusai Seiji Gakkai, ed. (1963) p. 239ff.

situation was taken over by the group advocating a peaceful advance into Indochina and cooperation with the French colonial authorities. In this way, the Japanese army behaved in such a way as to give the impression to outsiders that it had made a complete turnaround.

As for the third question raised by Truong Buu Lam, there is certainly no denying that forces including the one led by Nong Quoc Long had been in existence before the advance by the Phuc Quoc Army. However, in order to properly arm the rapidly growing ranks of the Phuc Quoc Army, the weapons seized from the French Indochinese colonial army were indispensable, and these were made available only with the cooperation of the Japanese army.

Before concluding this paper, the author would like to note the following three points.

First, the pattern under which the situation unfolded—where, in the absence of a consensus among the Japanese authorities, some organizations ventured to cultivate contacts with and support a group of Vietnamese nationalists at their own discretion, and ended up having their efforts overturned by the mainstream faction in the government and the military—was by no means limited to the occasion of the Japanese advance into northern French Indochina in 1940. Much the same pattern was repeated in the Japanese involvement in local politics around the time of the March 1945 anti-French coup staged by the Japanese army.¹³⁶ In this sense, the full story of the Phuc Quoc Army foreshadowed Japan's

¹³⁶ Since the writing of the Japanese original version of this paper, the author has published Shiraishi (1982) and Shiraishi (1984) to analyze this point.

subsequent policy toward nationalist movements of Vietnam. In fact, the pattern where military leaders and organizations at various levels held divergent opinions, and where conflicting interests and claims in the superior organs were passed down to the bottom units without consensus and official approval by the decision makers of the higher echelon, essentially remained unchanged between the time of the advance into northern Indochina and after.

Second, with regard to the effects of the Phuc Quoc force's unsuccessful insurrection on the later development of politics in Vietnam, the surviving members, who withdrew into the Guangxi area, seem to have subsequently become important targets for the recruiting activities of the pro-Kuomintang Vietnamese and the Viet Minh forces. Given the strategic importance of this area of China, which bordered on Vietnam, for the Vietnamese nationalist movement, an endeavor to trace the subsequent trajectory followed by former members of the Phuc Quoc Army seems to be worthwhile in its own right. At the same time, the Phuc Quoc Army's insurrection in Dong Dang and Lang Son seems to have given some impetus, directly or indirectly, to the Bac Son uprising of late 1940 staged under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party.¹³⁷ Examinations should be made into the relationship, if any, between the two incidents.

Third, insofar as the failure of the Phuc Quoc Army was caused, objectively speaking, by the Japanese "betrayal," some words must be said about its repercussions on the subsequent political situation in Vietnam.

¹³⁷ Concerning the Bac Son uprising, see Ban Nghien Cuu Lich Su Dang Khu Tu Tri Viet Bac (1975); Yoshizawa Minami (1971).

To begin with, the failure of the Phuc Quoc Army must have had a devastating impact on the Phuc Quoc League's subsequent activities among Vietnamese in exile in China. From the outset, it was in essence the Guangzhou group alone, among the various groups of Vietnamese in China, that took part in the launching of the League (along with a group in Siam, and several participants who seem to have joined from Hong Kong after the inaugural meeting). Other groups in China appear to have been uninterested in, or unsympathetic toward, Cuong De's pro-Japanese stance. It is reasonable to assume that after the failure of the insurrection, Cuong De must have found it all the more difficult to win the support of his compatriots. The activities of Vietnamese in the interior of China seem to have increasingly converged into a leadership struggle, especially in the China-Vietnam border areas, between groups close to the Kuomintang and those affiliated with the Viet Minh.

Having lost their foothold among their Vietnamese compatriots in China, Cuong De and his group switched their attention to developing contacts with various groups within Vietnam.

Then, what were the repercussions of the Phuc Quoc Army's armed insurrection and its failure on the political situation inside Vietnam? In fact, it is not easy to give adequate answers to this question, since the French Indochinese authorities imposed a strict blackout on news about the insurrection.¹³⁸ Local newspapers both in Vietnamese and in French gave extensive coverage to the incident of the Japanese crossing of the borders,

¹³⁸ It was not until December 13, 1940, that French Governor-General of Indochina Jean Decoux openly acknowledged that the insurrection actually took place. Tôa Kenkyûjo ed. (1943) p. 682.

but remained completely silent on the Phuc Quoc insurrection. Of course, it is very conceivable that, despite the authorities' strict control, some related information might have spread among Vietnamese people by word of mouth.¹³⁹ Among the intellectuals who had been in Hanoi and Saigon at the time and who answered the author's interviews, however, not a few testified that they knew nothing about the Phuc Quoc Army's insurrection at the time.¹⁴⁰

The author, therefore, can not give a direct answer concerning the repercussions of the Phuc Quoc Army's failure, but instead will confine himself to commenting briefly about the effect of Japan's French Indochinese policy in 1940-41 and, in more general terms, upon political developments in Vietnam.

Following their advance into northern Indochina in September 1940, the Japanese concluded an agreement with the French for the "joint defense" of Indochina in July 1941 and peacefully entered the southern part of the French colony. Then, at the start of the Pacific War in December 1941, they decided to keep their existing policy toward French Indochina unchanged.

This fact had two implications for internal Vietnamese politics. First, Japanese forces were stationed permanently in Vietnam, and this was naturally accompanied by an increasing Japanese political and economic

¹³⁹ Interviews with Prof. Hoang Xuan Han; and Dr. Ho Ta Khanh.

¹⁴⁰ The French Indochinese authorities repeatedly issued a notice on September 24, September 27, and November 19 advising people "not to listen to groundless rumors." See *Dong Phap* newspaper (published in Hanoi), September 25 and 27, 1940; and Tôa Kenkyûjo ed (1943) p. 678. The October 3 and 4, 1940 issues of *Dong Phap* also reported that the French Indochinese authorities were trying to control communications between the Lang Son area and elsewhere.

presence there. Second, the Japanese advance was carried out with the status quo in French Indochina unchanged, that is to say, with the French colonial administration intact.

It may be possible to say that the first factor proved instrumental in bringing into place the objective conditions necessary for the Japanese authorities and civilians, and the group of Vietnamese nationalists in Japan, including Cuong De, to make contact with various groups inside Vietnam or to recruit supporters of Japan. On the other hand, the second factor—that despite its proclamation of working toward the “liberation of Greater East Asia,” Japan gave approval to the continued existence of the French colonial administration—led Vietnamese to question Japan’s sincerity.

In fact, Cuong De himself, in his autobiography which he is reported to have dictated in 1943, expressed his own sense of distrust toward Japan in the following, rather carefully restrained terms: the policy of “joint defense” and “economic cooperation” between Japan and French Indochina was only a temporary one, and Japan in the near future would realize “pan-Asianism,” leaving no country in East Asia under (Western) colonial rule; only then would the reality come into agreement with the “axiom”; so long as the ongoing “Greater East Asian War” was aimed at liberating all East Asian nations from the oppression of the Europeans, the Vietnamese, who constituted one of the East Asian nations, had the obligation to bring this war to victory in cooperation with the Japanese.¹⁴¹

In a pamphlet which the Phuc Quoc League circulated in Vietnam at

¹⁴¹ *CD*, pp. 139-140.

the time (which is kept in the Archives in France), Cuong De addressed his compatriots as follows: he himself was also aware that many people in Vietnam were dissatisfied with Japan's policy toward French Indochina; but in the near future, Japan would change this policy, realizing its aim of East Asian liberation in Vietnam as well."¹⁴²

These documents reveal his dissatisfaction with Japan's policy of maintaining the status quo in French Indochina, which impeded his group's effort to win Vietnamese support for the Phuc Quoc League. Nonetheless, there is no denying that Cuong De remained under Japanese protection to the end, continued to play the role of a Japanese "puppet".

In brief, the emergence of pro-Japanese groups within Vietnam and their participation in or merger with the Phuc Quoc League were realized on the basis of a balance between the two above-mentioned factors, namely, the increasing military, political, and economic presence of Japan in Vietnam, and the strong sense of distrust (or weak sense of trust) toward Japan harbored by the Vietnamese people.

Postscript: The author would like to express his heartfelt gratitude to all those who kindly granted interviews to the author, and to many of the participants of the following meetings for their invaluable comments.

¹⁴² A propaganda pamphlet published by the Phuc Quoc League in Tôkyô on September 26, 1941, co-signed by Cuong De, Chairman of the League for National Restoration of Vietnam, and Le Nam, Secretary General of the Central Executive Committee. The pamphlet is found in the file, "Papiers Decoux," housed in the Archives Nationales, Section Outre-Mer (in Paris, now relocated in Aix-en-Provence).

Earlier versions of this paper were presented at Professor G. Kahin's seminar at Cornell University, Ithaca, in October 1976; monthly study meeting of the Kansai Chapter of the Japan Society for Southeast Asian History held in Kyôto in April 1979; Spring-time Biannual Conference of the same Society held in Tôkyô in June 1979; and meeting of the Institute of Developing Economies' research project on "South Asian Nationalist Movements and Japan," chaired by Professor Tanaka Hiroshi, held in Tôkyô in July 1980. .

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Glossary of Vietnamese, Japanese and Chinese Names

A. Places

Amakusa 天草

Bắc Sơn

Beijing 北京

Chongqing 重慶

Đồ Sơn

Đồng Đăng

Fujian 福建

Guangzhou 廣州

Guangdong 廣東

Guangxi 廣西

Hải Phòng

Hainan Island 海南島

Hankou 漢口

Hangzhou 杭州

Hà Nội

Hong Kong 香港

Huế

Hunan 湖南

Koishikawa Ward 小石川区

Kumamoto Prefecture (Ken) 熊本県

Lạng Sơn

Lukow-kiao 盧溝橋

Luoyang 洛陽

Kowloon 九龍

Macao

Nanpô 南方

Nanjing 南京

Nanning 南寧

Qinzhou Bay 欽州灣

Sài Gòn

Shanghai 上海

Tôkyô 東京
Ômori Ward 大森区
Sakura Jôsuï 桜上水
Taipei 台北
Tianjin 天津
Wuhan 武漢
Zhejiang 浙江

B. Persons

Chí Điền would be Shida
Chin Ki-Sei 陳輝聖 Trần Huy Thánh
Cường Đê
Đặng Ngọc Châu
Đặng Nguyên Hùng
Đặng Sư Mặc
Điền Thôn would be Tamura
Đỗ Khải Hoàn
Duan Qirui 段祺瑞
Dương Bá Trạc
Đường Văn Thu
Fukushima Yasumasa 福島安正
Giáp Ngọc Minh
Gondô Masatake 権藤正威
Gamada could be 蒲田
Hayashi Yoshihide 林義秀
Hồ Học Lâm, or Hồ Ngọc Lâm
Hòa Chi, Hòa Chí or Hòa Tri, Hòa Trí Wachi Yôji
Hoàng Bình
Hoàng Lương
Hoàng Nam Hùng
Inukai Takeru 犬養健
Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅
Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) 蒋介石
Kadomatsu Shôichi 門松正一

Kashiwabara Buntarô 柏原文太郎
 Komatsu Kiyoshi 小松清
 Konoe Ayamaro 近衛文麿
 Lê Kiên
 Lê Nam
 Lê Toàn
 Lê Trung
 Lin De Shun 林德順 Rin Toku Jun in Japanese pronunciation
 Mai Văn Thông
 Masui Jun'ichi 増井準一
 Matsui Iwane 松井石根
 Matsubayashi 松林 Tùng Lâm in Vietnamese pronunciation
 Minami Kazuo 南一雄
 Muta Hanako could be 牟田花子
 Nakai Masutarô 中井増太郎
 Nakano Hidemitsu 中野英光
 Ngô Đình Diệm
 Ngô Phương Chính 吳方正
 Nguyễn Đại Khã
 Nguyễn Hải Thần Vũ Hải Thu
 Nguyễn Rinh Nhiếp
 Nguyễn Thế Nghiệp
 Nguyễn Thúc Canh Trần Hữu Công
 Nguyễn Văn Trung
 Nguyễn Xuân Chữ
 Nishihara Issaku 西原逸策
 Nishihara Mitsugu 西原税
 Nông Quốc Long
 Ohana お花 a conventional appellation or nickname for Muta Hanako
 Ôkawa Shûmei 大川周明
 Ômiya Komaki 近江谷小牧
 Phạm Hồng Thái
 Phan Bội Châu
 Phan Thúc Ngô
 Phan Trọng Đoan
 Shida 志田 Chí Điền in Vietnamese pronunciation

Takamatsu would be 高松
 Tân Anh
 Tamura 田村 田村 田村
 Tominaga Kyôji 富永恭次
 Tôyama Mitsuru 頭山満
 Trần Bội Long
 Trần Hữu Công Nguyễn Thúc Canh, and Trần Trọng Khắc
 Trần Huy Liệu
 Trần Huy Thánh Chin Ki-Sei (in Japanese), and Trần Văn An
 Trần Hy Thánh Trần Huy Thánh
 Trần Minh Đức
 Trần Phúc An Trần Văn An, and Trần Huy Thánh
 Trần Quang Vinh
 Trần Trọng Khắc Trần Hữu Công, and Nguyễn Thúc Canh
 Trần Trung Lập 陳中立
 Trần Văn An Trần Huy Thánh
 Trần Văn Ân
 Tráng Liệt,
 Trung-Giả Anh-Phú, or Trung Dã a Anh Quang Nakano Hidemitsu
 Trương An Mẫn
 Trương Bữu Lâm
 Tùng Lâm Matsubayashi
 Ujihara Susumu 氏原進
 Võ Đình Dy
 Vũ Hải Thu Nguyễn Hải Thần
 Vũ Hồng Khanh
 Wachi Yôji 和知鷹二
 Wang Jingwei 汪精衛
 Wang Kemin 王克敏
 Wang Zhaoming 汪兆銘
 Yamane Dôichi 山根道一
 Yazaki Kanjû 矢崎勘十

C. Organizations and Others

Ajia Renmei アジア連盟 Asian League

Betonamu-go Hôshô-han 越南語放送班 Vietnamese Broadcasting Team (in Taipei)

Cao Đài (religious sect)

Dai-go Shidan 第五師団 The Fifth Division

Dai-hachi-Ka 第八課 Section Eight (usually called Bôryaku-ka 謀略課 Covert Operations Section) of the Army General Staff Office in Tôkyô

Dai-ichi-Bu 第一部 The First Department (usually called Sakusen-bu 作戦部 Military Strategies and Operations Department) of the Army General Staff Office in Tôkyô

Dainan Kôshi 大南公司 Dainan Corporation

Dai-ni Chûka Gakusha 第二中華学舎 Second Dormitory for Chinese Students

Dai-nijûichi Gun 第二一軍 The 21st Army (in Guangdong)

Dai-nijûni Gun 第二二軍 The 22nd Army (in Guangxi)

Đại Việt Phục Quốc Độc Lập Quân 大越復国独立軍 Independence Army for the National Restoration of Great Viet

Đông Du Movement Phong trào Đông Du 東遊運動 Movement for Studying Abroad in Japan

Đông Dương Cộng Sản Đảng 東洋共産党 Indochinese Communist Party

Futsuin Kokkyô Kanshidan 仏印国境監視団 French Indochinese Border Monitoring Body
Nishihara Kikan

Guangdong (Kanton) Tokumu Kikan 広東特務機関 Guangdong Special Service Agency

Gyôchisha 行地社 Gyochi Society

Hoa Nam Văn Hóa Hiệp Hội 華南文化協會 South China Cultural Association

Indoshina Chûton-Gun 印度支那駐屯軍 Indochina Stationary Force

Indoshina Haken-Gun 印度支那派遣軍 Indochina Expeditionary Force

Jôhō-Ka 情報課 Information Section (of the Government-General of Taiwan)

Kagesa Agency (Kikan) 影佐機関

Kisaragi-Kai 如月会 February Society

Kokuryû-Kai 黒龍会 Black Dragon Society

Kuomintang 中国国民党 Chinese Nationalist Party

Matsubara Hotel 松原ホテル

Matsushita Mitsuhiro 松下光広

Mejiro Middle School 目白中学

Minami-Shina Hômen-Gun 南支那方面軍 South China Theatre Force

Nishihara Kikan 西原機関 Nishihara Mission Futsuin Kokkyô Kanshidan

Okada 岡田

Ran Kikan 蘭機関 Orchid Agency

Rekisen Primary School 礪川小学校

Rikugun Shikan-Gakkô 陸軍士官学校 Army Academy

Sakusen-Bu 作戦部 and Sakusen-Ka 作戦課 Department and Section for Military Strategies
and Operations of the Army General Staff Office in Tôkyô. See also Dai-ichi-Bu

Sanbô-Honbu 参謀本部 the Army General Staff Office in Tôkyô

Seiji-Keizai-Ka Senmon-bu 政治経済科専門部 whose literal translation would be the
Specialized Course of Department of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University
(早稲田大学)

Seijo Chûgaku 成城中学 Seijo Middle School

Shanghai Dôbun Shoin 上海同文書院 Shanghai School of Same Letters

Shina Haken-Gun 支那派遣軍 China Expeditionary Force

Shinbu Gakkô 振武学校 Shimbu Military School

Taiwan Sôtokufu 台湾総督府 Government-General of Taiwan

Taiwan Takushoku Kaisha 台湾拓殖会社 Taiwan Colonization Corporation

Teikoku-Daigaku Igakubu 帝国大学医学部 Medical School of Imperial University

Tôkyô Dôbun Shoin 東京同文書院 Tôkyô School of Same Letters

Tôkyô Kôtô Shihan Gakkô 東京高等師範学校 Tôkyô Higher Normal School

Việt Minh 越盟 stands for Việt Nam Độc Lập Đồng Minh Hội 越南独立同盟会
League for the Independence of Vietnam

Việt Nam Cách Mạng Đồng Chí Hội 越南革命同志会 Society of Comrades for the
Revolution of Vietnam

Việt Nam Cách Mạng Đồng Minh Hội 越南革命同盟会 League for the Revolution of
Vietnam

Việt Nam Độc Lập Vận Động Đồng Minh Hội 越南独立運動同盟会 League for the
Independence Movement of Vietnam)

Việt Nam Duy Tân Hội 越南維新会 Society for the Renovation of Vietnam

Việt Nam Kiến Quốc Quân 越南建国軍 Nation-Building Army of Vietnam

Việt Nam Phục Quốc Đồng Minh Hội 越南復国同盟会 League for the National Restoration of
Vietnam

Việt Nam Phục Quốc Hội 越南復国会 Society for the National Restoration of Vietnam

Việt Nam Phục Quốc Quân 越南復国軍 National Restoration Army of Vietnam

Việt Nam Quang Phục Hội 越南光復会 Society for the Revival of Vietnam

Việt Nam Quốc Dân Cách Mạng Đảng 越南国民革命党 Vietnamese National
Revolutionary Party

Việt Nam Quốc Dân Đảng 越南国民党 Vietnamese Nationalist Party

Việt Nam Trung Ương Chấp Hành Ủy Viên Hội 越南中央執行委員會 Central Executive
Committee of Vietnam

Waseda University 早稲田大学

Xin Xin Hotel 新新酒店 Tân Tân Hotel in Vietnamese pronunciation

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